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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL	1	PERSONAL	8
EQUITABLE TAXATION—C. J. Buell	4	LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	10
SINGLE TAX NEWS	5	PUBLISHER'S NOTES	10
NEWS OF THE WEEK	8	THE HOUSEHOLD	11

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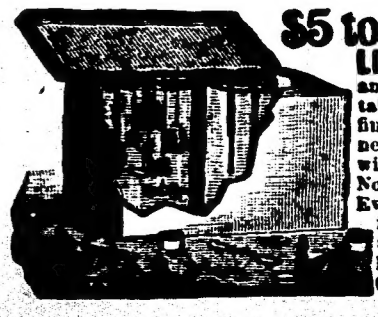

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THE STANDARD

VOL. XII. NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1892. No. 4.

EDITORIAL NOTES.—Harold Frederic, the London correspondent of the New York Times, reports Mr. Gladstone as having said in substance, in one of his campaign speeches, that the older he grew the more he began to conclude that the highly-educated classes were in public affairs rather more conspicuously foolish than anybody else. Mr. Frederic thinks that the Tories have since done much "to breed a suspicion that therein Gladstone touched the outskirts of a great and solemn truth." But it needed not the action of the Tories to breed that suspicion. In this country as well as in England, it is patent to any close observer that the highly-educated classes, or to speak with more exactness, the highly-tutored classes, when compared with the common people, are in public affairs but little better than fools. The explanation is simple. The common people are philosophers, unencumbered with useless knowledge, who look upon public affairs broadly, and moralists, who pry beneath the surface of custom and precedent into the heart of public questions. The minds of the tutored classes, on the contrary, are dwarfed by close attention to particulars to the exclusion of generals, and distorted by such false morality as is involved in tutorial notions regarding vested rights.

The immediate occasion of Mr. Frederic's remark is the proposition, which comes from some Tory quarters, that the Tory government shall refuse to resign upon the announcement of the vote of "want of confidence," which will quickly follow the assembling of the new Parliament. Mr. Gladstone's majority is so small, and withal so untrustworthy in being made up of what the Tory press sneers at as a motley crowd, that the Tories hope to retain power in spite of the voice of the people. In more than one way do the Tories of England resemble the Republicans of the United States. They are the aristocratic party, the vested rights party, and the protection party of England, as the Republican party is of the United States; and now they gravely propose by way of further reciprocal imitation to make themselves also the usurping party of the mother country.

It is in the Tory party of England and the Republican party of the United States, among the highly tutored members of both, that, when classes come in conflict, your dainty advocate of lawlessness is found in greatest abundance. None so quick as he to denounce the slightest infraction of law, however technical, by the untutored class: and none so quick to advise wholesale slaughter in retaliation for an overt act of one of the untutored class, however free from responsibility the victims of the proposed slaughter may be. This fact has a new illustration at Homestead. An attempt was made upon the life of H. C. Frick, the manager of the factory; and although the assailant had no connection with the locked-out workmen, and the assailed is a man without other claim to sympathy than that he is cast in the human mould, or to distinction than that he has made himself rich by making thousands of others poor, a hue and cry has gone up among the highly tutored classes for a general massacre by the militia at Homestead for the purpose of "impressing" upon the people there the sanctity of human life, the sovereignty of the law, the duty of preserving order, and the importance of refraining from lawless language of the untutored variety. This hue and cry is echoed by officers on the staff of Gen. Snowden, and reverberates up and down the columns of tutored newspapers. The same kind of lawlessness finds expression in some form whenever any movement is afoot, no matter how peaceful, which threatens a vested interest. We have been told of a college professor—college professors belong preeminently to the highly tutored class—who seriously argued that free traders are traitors and that Henry George should have been hanged off hand when he began his agitation. These are not the ravings of angry men. They are the cool and serious but unguarded expressions of representatives, retainers, and dependents of the very rich, whom the late Howard Crosby so aptly termed the "dangerous classes" of modern society.

Doubtless, those who express these sentiments are inspired by a tutorially twisted sense of righteousness, having its source in that fungus morality of which the doctrine of vested rights is the base. To the highly tutored mind, whenever agents of government grant a pension, or invest a citizen with the taxing power in any form, as by means of protection tariffs or land patents, a right vests which cannot be taken away justly without full compensation. It is here that the moral superiority of the untutored mind is manifest. In the pension, the protection privilege, the land grant, the private taxing power of whatever kind, the untutored mind, when it clarifies, sees machinery for confiscating the earnings of the people; and as between confiscating the machinery and allowing it to go on with its confiscating processes, such a mind readily, and in accordance with natural justice, decides to confiscate the machinery. But to the highly tutored mind, the doctrine of natural rights is out of focus; it appears only as a shadowy reflection of vested rights.

Strangely enough, there are free traders of the highly tutored order who, not upon grounds of expediency nor actuated by the politic idea of moving step by step through a series of compromises, believe that as a matter of justice the abolition of the tariff should be accompanied with provisions for compensating protected manufacturers. This is the argument: The whole people by their legislative representatives have invited men to invest their labor and capital in certain industries which cannot be carried on in this country without government aid; and to make the invitation attractive, they have laid upon the products of similar foreign industries taxes so high as to exclude them from competition. In response to this invitation certain men have made the investment. Therefore, good faith requires, if by a change of government policy such industries are destroyed, that these men be re-imbursed. The same argument is made in behalf of land owners, though they, when they buy land for profit instead of use, do not buy a thing, but the power which that thing in given circumstances confers upon them to confiscate the earnings of other people. It is an argument that can be made, and in England is made, in behalf of pensioners; that was made in this country in behalf of slave-owners; and that may be made in any country in behalf of the owners of government privileges of any kind. Its essential vice is its ignoring of the fact that there are always two parties to a valuable privilege, the party who profits by the privilege and the party who is robbed by it. The fact that he who profits is as one to thousands compared with him who is robbed, should emphasize the importance of promptly terminating the privilege; but the highly tutored mind sees only the loss which abolition would impose upon the beneficiary. The perpetual victim is out of the range of his perspective.

Once upon a time, rats were very troublesome to the good people of an uncertain village; and to exterminate them, it was proposed to offer bounties from the public treasury to breeders of black snakes, and to give to black snakes the freedom of the village streets and protection wherever they might go, even though it were into the very hen roosts of the villagers. Furthermore, to encourage the black snake as an exterminator of rats, it was decreed that black snake owners should be exempt from all damage claims by the villagers for loss of property whenever a black snake varied his rat diet with eggs or chickens. The scheme met with strong opposition. Among other objections, it was argued that it involved, not only a misappropriation of public funds, but a free license to trespass upon and even to confiscate private property. It was adopted, however, and the breeding of black snakes became a favorite occupation. The rats were exterminated, but in time the snakes were a greater nuisance than the vermin they had displaced. Every villager who kept poultry was despoiled of his chickens and his eggs, yet he was without redress against the owners of the marauding snakes, who insisted upon breeding the pests in order to draw bounties from the public treasury. Finally, the plundered people voted to repeal the unjust privileges that had been conferred upon black snake breeders. They demanded that the owners of these reptiles should be held responsible for their trespasses, and that the common treasury should no longer be depleted by bounty payments to encourage an industry which, however useful it might have been regarded by the majority of a previous generation, was unanimously pronounced a nuisance now. This demand was about to be granted, when the snake breeders protested; and an eminent representative of the highly tutored classes pleaded for them in the name of justice.

"These snakes are property," said this advocate. "You have encouraged men to invest labor and capital in breeding them, and they are as truly property as is your horse or your cow."

"Very well," came the response from an untutored villager, "let them keep their property. We have no objection to that. What we object to is the law that allows their property to fatten upon our property, and themselves to grow rich by draining the common purse."

"But it is part of the contract," returned the advocate of vested rights. "It was agreed by your agents—the officials of this village—that snake breeders should receive an annual bounty for every snake, and that their snakes should be free to feed upon your eggs and chickens. If you withdraw the bounty, you must pay them its

capitalized value: and if you abolish their privilege of allowing their snakes to feed in your hen houses, you must pay them the value of that. It would be robbery to take their snakes from them."

"We don't intend to take their snakes from them, I tell you," shouted the untutored spokesman, a little angrily. "Let them keep the snakes. We propose to abolish the bounty and the feeding privilege."

"Ah," said the other, with a gentle and patronizing smile, "my untutored friends, you evidently do not understand that these snakes are not bred because their owners want snakes, but because they want the bounty. Abolish the bounty and you abolish all that is valuable in the snakes—in effect you destroy all property rights in these beneficent creatures. And as to your eggs and chickens, if the snakes may not freely feed upon them, the value of the bounty and consequently of the snakes will be diminished. At present the owners of black snakes can sell them for a considerable sum per head. Abolish the feeding privilege, and the value of snakes will decline; abolish the bounty, and it will disappear. Fellow-citizens, you cannot honestly abolish these rights, so long vested and enjoyed, and so often passed not only from generation to generation by inheritance but from hand to hand in exchange for property earned in sweat and saved in privation. That would be confiscation. I pray you, be honest men. Abolish snakes if you will, but pay for them when you do it."

"Come off," exclaimed the villager, who, had he been highly tutored, would have used a politer phrase. "A confiscation has been going on this long time. It is going on now. These snake owners are confiscating our property. If we don't abolish their privilege they will keep it up. If we compensate them, they will be confiscating from us in a lump instead of doing it year by year. We don't know much about vested rights, may be; but we do know that if it is confiscation from them to withdraw the bounties and the rest, it is confiscation from us not to do it; and since it's to be a case of confiscation any how, we reckon that the snake owners have enjoyed their share of that long enough, and we'll try it ourselves a little while for a change. It may not be quite the straight thing, according to your notion of vested rights; but we reckon that our rights are just as much vested in our own eggs and chickens and in our share of common funds as theirs are vested in snake property. Our vested rights have been unvested long enough, and we're going to keep them vested from now on. That's the way the thing looks to a man up a tree, professor; and you may take it for granted that the dust of this village won't be healthy hereafter for any snake whose owner doesn't support him at home.

Recurring to the Homestead strike, the most sensational news of the week is the attempt of a revolutionary anarchist from New York to murder Mr. Frick. He appears to have been acting upon his own responsibility, and keeping his own counsel from the beginning. There is no apparent reason for regarding him as insane; much less for supposing that he was excited to the crime by anything which the locked-out workmen at Homestead or their sympathizers have said or done. An attempt to take advantage of the occurrence in order to turn public opinion against the locked-out workmen was to have been expected, but the readers of daily newspapers are really not such fools as the editors often take them for.

The real exciting cause of this fanatic's act finds one manifestation in Frick, upon whom the assault was made, and another in the men whom Frick is endeavoring to master. It is plain to every one who deals with his own conscience candidly, that there is something wrong when one man can make himself a millionaire in a score of years: and a public danger when he can make himself the absolute master of the incomes and the homes of thousands of men. It was doubtless plain also to this fanatic. There is a disposition, radically at fault but very wide spread, to look upon men like Frick as responsible for the diseased and dangerous conditions in which they thrive. Frick's assailant was moved by this disposition. But he was not moved to sympathy or hate merely, he was moved to action. In this crisis, Frick stood with him for the oppressor with whose death oppression would die, and he deliberately offered his own life in exchange for Frick's. The episode is a finger post along the highway of our social and industrial development. As we go on in the way we are going, legislating great wealth and corresponding power into the hands of the few and making them the irresponsible masters of many, we shall often encounter such finger posts. If in time we read their warning aright, it will be well. If we read it wrongly, or content ourselves with spitting at those who read it for us, our doom is certain.

When a private in the Pennsylvania National Guard, on duty at Homestead, openly expressed his gratification at the attempt to murder Frick, and refused to withdraw the expression upon the demand of his superior officer, he exposed the wickedness of his heart and made himself subject to military discipline. But when his superior officer strung him up by the thumbs, holding him in that position for more than a quarter of an hour and until his pulse rose to the danger point, the officer proved himself a blacker hearted man than the private, and unless the military code of Pennsylvania is barbaric, a more appropriate subject for severe punishment. That penalty is universally regarded as inhuman. It could not be inflicted in any prison upon the worst criminal for the worst breach of discipline without eliciting the heartiest condemnation of the press; yet it is inflicted by a martinet militia officer upon a citizen soldier for language which though revolting is not criminal, and it calls forth no rebuke from any prominent paper other than the New York World. Perhaps the officer did not overstep his legal authority. Neither does the Russian officer who knouts his victim. But he deserves and will receive the condemnation of every non-partisan man. The people and the newspapers that approve his act, though their phrases are mellowed with soft words, like "law" and "order," are in truth violent partisans: to them "law" means the will of the rich, "order" the subjection of the poor, and the transgression of statutes is reprehensible only when it can be fastened upon the "lower classes." Such men would not condemn this brutal officer even if the law condemns him; if the law is as brutal as he, they will exult.

What with the Congressional investigation at Homestead soon after the fight with Pinkerton's men, when several of the labor leaders and Mr. Frick were questioned, and the more recent investigation of the subject at Washington, when the proprietors of Pinkerton's agency submitted a written statement and were cross-examined, it is now possible to form a fair judgment relative to responsibility for the rioting at Homestead and to the lawfulness of the use of such bodies of armed men as the Pinkerton's supply to rich employers who are engaged in fighting strikes.

It appears that Frick contracted with the Pinkertons to supply about 300 men for the defense of the factory at Homestead. At the time of this contract no strike was in progress, nor was there any reason to expect an assault upon the factory. The contract, like the barricade erected around the factory grounds, was a measure of precaution. After the lockout began, and while the workmen were in possession of the Carnegie factory, over 300 Pinkerton men approached Homestead in military fashion and endeavored to effect a landing at night with the intention of forcibly and without legal process recovering possession of the factory. They were not deputized by the Sheriff, they were not acting as a posse comitatus, there was no riot in progress. When they attempted to land, firing began. One side asserts that the first shots were fired by the Pinkertons, the other that the shots were fired by the villagers, a dispute which, under the circumstances, is not important. These being the leading facts, the question of responsibility for murder in connection with the fight depends upon the right of a citizen, as between himself and the community, to rescue his property from trespassers by means of a private army. If Mr. Frick had that right, armed resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Homestead was riot, and the rioters, whether they fired the first shot or not, were guilty of the murder of any one on either side who lost his life. If Mr. Frick had not that right, the riot began with the attempt of his private army to invade Homestead, and in that case he and his soldiers, not the inhabitants of the invaded town, were the real rioters and liable for all the consequences. When Pinkerton's men were disembarking at Homestead, were they doing so in the peace of the state of Pennsylvania? That is the question. If the law as it exists holds that that they were, it is time for a change in the law.

Public opinion has set in strongly against the Pinkertons, and there is a very earnest desire to make their hireling soldier service an illegal business. With this desire every real believer in the regular enforcement of the law according to our principles of government is in sympathy. It has been said, however, that it cannot be done. But it can be. For the bringing of such troops into a community they and their employer should be and easily could be made liable, by a simple statute in the various states, for the results of any consequent riot. In the presence of such a statute, no plutocrat would dare introduce hireling troops except as the duly authorized deputies of a sheriff, and no such troops would dare to appear. The subterfuge of deputizing Pinkerton's men so as to give them the color of public office and the insignia of impartial administrators, when they are in fact hired partisans subject to private orders, should also be stopped. When a sheriff cannot preserve the peace and execute process in his county with the aid of such of the inhabitants of the county as he may select, it is his duty, in the interest of law and order, to call upon the Governor to supply him with troops from the regular militia force. Sheriffs have not performed their duty in this respect. They have deputized Pinkerton men who, hired and paid by employers, have acknowledged allegiance to the county authorities in so far only as such allegiance was compatible with their private obligations to their employer. Doubtless sheriffs will do the same hereafter if

allowed to. But no statute could be more strictly in harmony with the ideal of local self-government or better calculated to protect communities from being absolutely ruled by men like Frick, than one which should prohibit the sheriff from deputizing non-residents of his county. In a country where there are private citizens so rich that they could buy a kingdom and so ambitious that they would if one were for sale, and masses of men so poor that they are ready to sell themselves to whomsoever will buy, an institution like Pinkerton's army is a greater menace to liberty than patents of nobility.

The power of the earth owner is, in connection with this Homestead lockout once more illustrated. A large number, how large is not reported, of the locked-out employees at Homestead are tenants of the Carnegie Company, holding their "homes" under leases which entitle the Carnegies to evict them on ten day's notice. Every one of these tenants has received notice to quit, and it is certain that they will be evicted. Doubtless there is enough unused land in and about Homestead for them to "squat" upon temporarily until they can provide better accommodations for themselves; doubtless, too, it is owned by some one who will warn them that it is private property; and doubtless again, these owners are able to keep it in its unused condition because the taxes on it are much less than it is worth. These are facts which the locked-out and evicted men of Homestead may find it wholesome to consider with some carefulness and depth of thought.

That the situation has not yet induced leading minds among the workmen to look beneath the surface may be fairly inferred from the address to the public just issued by their Advisory Committee. It is an extraordinary document. The centralizing tendency of the time is described as "putting the control of our great natural industries into the hands of one or a few men, and giving these men an enormous and despotic power over the lives and fortunes of their employees and subordinates, * * * a power which, though expressed in terms of current speech as 'the right of employers to manage their business to suit themselves,' is coming to mean in effect nothing less than a right to manage the country to suit themselves." Then, after reciting that Carnegie's employees have at Homestead built a town with its homes, its schools and its churches, have for many years been faithful co-workers with the company, have made investments there with the expectation of spending their lives in Homestead and working in the mill during the period of their efficiency, and that in addition to the ordinary gifts and advantages of our Government, the National Legislature has seen fit to specially foster and protect by public taxation the industry of the mills, the address expresses the firm belief of the committee that—

> Both the public and the employees aforesaid have equitable rights and interests in the said mill which cannot be modified or diverted without due process of law; that the employees have the right to continuous employment in the said mill during efficiency and good behavior, without regard to religious, political, or economic opinions and associations; that it is against public policy and subversive of the fundamental principles of American liberty that a whole community of workers should be denied employment, or suffer any other social detriment on account of membership in a church, a political party, or a trades union; that it is our duty as American citizens to resist, by every legal and ordinary means, the unconstitutional, anarchic and revolutionary policy of the Carnegie Company, which seems to evince a contempt of public and private interests, and a disdain of the public conscience by its refusal to submit to lawful arbitration, and by the lawless importation of a band of armed mercenaries forcibly to deprive the employees of their equitable rights in advance of any legal adjudication thereupon, and without previous appeal to the lawful forces of Allegheny county and the state of Pennsylvania.

Neither in the law as it exists, nor in the law as it ought to be, are there any such rights as are here claimed. And yet he must be made of the stuff of which devils are made, who can read the demand without feeling in his heart that there is justice in it. And there is justice in it. At bottom its leading thought is that every man has a right to employment at the place where he lives. This thought is obscured by the complexities of modern industry, where one employs and thousands serve, which make it appear superficially that every man has a right to be employed by some other man. The appearance is deceptive. No conditions can give to any one the right to demand employment of another, any more than it can give him the right to live in another's house, to sleep in his bed, to ride in his wagon, or to wear his clothing. Nevertheless, every man has a right to employ himself, and any artificial obstruction to that right is a positive wrong.

The committee fell upon the truth when in opening their address they spoke of putting the control of "natural industries" into the hands of the few; but this was apparently an accident, for Carnegie's factory is not a natural industry, and there is no connection between a complaint that "natural" industries are monopolized and a demand for employment in an industry which is not natural. The address misses fire. Had it demanded the freeing of *natural* industries from monopoly, and the right of workingmen to employ themselves at *natural* industries, it would have demanded what all have a right to, what the Legislature has the power to give without infringing the liberty of any, and what would when granted make the Carnegies powerless. It is the one reform which by opening to everybody opportunities for work, would disband the army of the unemployed, the real force which decides lockouts and strikes against the workman.

Both political parties in this country are now prepared for action, and only the heat of the summer delays the fight. The Republicans have placed ex-Congressman Carter at the head of their committee, though it is understood that Mr. Harrison will manage his campaign in person, as Mr. Reid is already doing. William F. Harrity, of Pennsylvania, has been elected chairman of the Democratic committee. Mr. Harrity, though a very young man, has earned a great reputation for political management, and his advancement from the field of state to that of national politics, offers him an enviable opportunity for earning a permanent and commanding place in national affairs. It lies with him, by making the tariff fight boldly, to achieve a triumph for himself as well as his party; or, by timidity, to endanger his party and bring himself into contempt.

The circumstances under which Cleveland and Stevenson accepted the Chicago nominations were as impressive as they were unique. Before an enthusiastic audience which packed the largest hall in New York, the candidates were officially apprized of their nominations and delivered their speeches of acceptance. So successful was this departure from custom, that it may be expected to be the custom hereafter.

The speeches of both candidates were admirable, though that of Mr. Cleveland, because he is the leading candidate and the personal inspiration of the campaign, naturally excites more attention and enthusiasm. It was not a ringing speech. Mr. Cleveland's extreme caution in the use of diplomatic language leaves nothing in his speeches to arouse enthusiasm except the truths that here and there flash with their own brilliancy through the phrases in which they are carefully encased. His acceptance speech makes no exception. Though we may look through it in vain for any denunciation of protection as robbery, we shall find it stating that the plain people are unjustly burdened with a tariff system which wrings exactions from them to build up and increase the fortunes of those for whose benefit the injustice is perpetrated. If that does not describe robbery, robbery cannot be described in diplomatic form. In a subsequent part of the speech Mr. Cleveland refers to the farmer as "listening to a delusive story that fills his mind with visions of advantage, while his pocket is robbed by the stealthy hand of high protection." At that point, it must be confessed that the candidate was upon the verge of forgetting his exalted position and using plain speech for plain people.

Finally, he put the issue squarely upon moral grounds when he said, "We oppose earnestly and stubbornly the theory upon which our opponents seek to justify and uphold existing tariff laws," and "we denounce this theory upon the highest possible grounds, namely, that its operation is unjust and that laws enacted in accordance with it are inequitable and unfair." This places the issue, in cautious phrase it is true but without obscurity, upon the moral plane. The time for juggling with figures is past. Henceforth, with Cleveland leading the way, the tariff fight is to be a moral fight—a fight of right against wrong, justice against injustice, honesty against robbery.

Colonel McClure challenges Governor McKinley to a joint debate on the tariff at Philadelphia. In reply the Ohio governor explains that he is not fond of disputation and has found that joint discussions are, as a rule, unprofitable to both sides. He agrees to respond, however, if the Republican committee calls upon him. It is not to be wondered at that the Napoleon of protection wishes to have the floor all to himself when he tells his audiences that foreigners pay our customs taxes and that protection raises American wages.

When the McKinley tariff went into operation, it was predicted by free traders that prices would rise. Regarding some articles the prediction proved to be correct: but as to others there was no rise of price, and this fact has paraded in the seven league boots of the tariff liar. Intelligent free traders knew that though prices in these cases were nominally as low as they had been, they were in fact higher; that articles of poorer quality were being palmed off at the old prices for better goods. That was an inference, but now it is a proven fact. The New York Times has been investigating the subject and finds that where it is pretended that we are paying ante-McKinley prices we are really getting a poorer commodity. What is the difference between charging higher prices and giving poorer goods for the old prices?

Why should the people of the United States make a present from the public treasury of $5,000,000 to the landowners of Chicago? The fair at Chicago has already raised land values there high enough to meet their solicited contribution more than ten times

over. If the contribution is made it will be "pure velvet" to Chicago landowners; if not made, those gentlemen will need to discount their luck somewhat. Let them discount their luck.

Frank Hurd has long been known as a free trader. He was at one time the only prominent out and out Democrat who was an absolute free trader. In a recent interview he shows that besides being a free trader he has come to be a tolerably fair single tax man. Here is his platform, a mite "teetery," but good enough for the present:

Under a system of absolute free trade I would raise the revenue by taxes on whiskey and other liquors and tobacco—direct taxation upon them—and, of course, equal taxes on foreign liquors and luxuries of that sort imported into this country, so they could all stand on the same basis; by taxes on incomes above $10,000 per year, and on articles which are not produced at all in this country. This, of course, is inconsistent with the idea of absolute free trade, but I prefer it for the present. I would also put a direct tax on land values. With this, and the taxes on incomes, luxuries, and on articles not produced in this country—in which there can not be an element of protection—we would raise enough to pay the expenses of the government, and as soon as the education of the people should be far enough advanced, I would put a tax on land values, especially on the unearned increment in value which has been made by the growth of the population in cities.

The property owners of Summit, N. J., are just now excited over the unfair appraisements of the county board of assessors. The cause of their complaint is a common one throughout the United States. It is charged that members of the board from Elizabeth, having managed to obtain control, have raised the real estate valuations at Summit so high, in proportion to the valuations elsewhere in the county, as to compel Summit to pay an undue share of the county tax. The difficulty with this complaint, as with most complaints of the kind, is that the valuations for Summit are below the actual value of the property there. Disobedience of the law requiring all appraisements for taxation to be the full value of the property appraised, have made possible the conditions at which the property owners of Summit are indignant. Let the law be enforced and there will be no ground for complaint. But the property owners of Summit are not trying to enforce the law. Like the accused Irishmen, justice is precisely what they object to. Their complaint is not that the other townships have been favored by illegal valuation, but that the Summit valuations are not illegal enough.

EQUITABLE TAXATION

C. J. BUELL.

What is an equitable system of taxation? Evidently a system that does not, in its operations, conflict with any of the natural rights of any man or class of men. What are the natural rights of man? I hold with Blackstone, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer and Henry George, that the first and most fundamental natural right of every man is his right to use the earth—his right to apply his energies to the forces and materials of nature—and that right accrues equally to each and every man in any community.

The second fundamental right of man follows necessarily from the first. It is his right to be a free man, to be the owner of himself, and consequently of the products which his energies have brought forth from the storehouse of nature.

In other words the gifts of nature are for the equal use of all, while those things that any individual man, by his labor, has separated out or changed from their natural condition are his as against every other man—his to use, to give away if he please, to barter with another—or to destroy and cause to return to their elements if he wills it. Of course it follows that in using the forces of nature and enjoying the products brought forth by his efforts, each man is bound to so conduct himself as not to interfere with the equal right of any other man.

Now it follows that any system of taxation that interferes with these natural rights of man must necessarily be inequitable, and hence must be condemned as not tending "to secure an equitable distribution of the burden of taxation for the support of national, State, and municipal government."

All taxes now levied in this country may be classified under three general heads:

1. First, taxes collected from people for the privilege of holding exclusive possession of certain portions of the earth.
2. Second, taxes assessed in some form or other against the products that men have drawn forth from the earth by their labor.
3. Poll taxes—taxes collected from men because they are live men, not dead men.

This seems to be a natural classification, and it would be difficult to imagine a tax that would not fall under one or another of the above heads.

Under the first heading come those taxes that are now levied upon land, as in the States of Minnesota, Rhode Island, California, and some others, where the land is assessed separately from the structures and improvements thereon; and in other States where this separation is not made, that part of so-called real estate taxes that represent the value of the land.

Under the second heading come all taxes on imports or exports, all "internal revenue," excise, or license taxes; all taxes on houses or other structures, furniture, merchandise, farm implements, cattle, horses, growing or harvested crops; all taxes on the instruments of transportation or the operations of exchange; all taxes on money, mortgages, notes, bonds, bank stocks or other commercial paper. Under this head also come all taxes on the accumulation of wealth, as income taxes, or on its transmission from one to another, as inheritance or succession taxes.

Let us examine these taxes in order to determine whether they square with the principles of equity, for if they do not, they are condemned by the very terms of our text and the conditions of this discussion.

The third class, poll taxes, violate the rights of man in that they impose a penalty on his very existence. Where the payment of a poll tax is made a condition on the right to vote—it violates also the natural right of every man to participate in making the laws by which he is to be governed.

The entire list under class second are taxes that take from people in proportion to the good things of life they have about them, or in proportion to the necessities of life they must purchase for the sustenance of themselves and families.

All taxes on imports or exports, on products in course of exchange, or on the processes of transportation; in short all of class second except taxes on buildings used for homes, household furniture, incomes and inheritances, are not paid at all by the persons against whom they are nominally assessed; but simply show themselves in added prices, and are paid in the end by consumers in proportion to their necessities, with no regard to their wealth, ability, or the benefits they may derive from society. Under such taxes it is possible for very wealthy men who derive enormous benefits from society to pay very little or no taxes at all; while many a poor man with a large family is compelled to pay many times more, though he may be paying ground rent to some landlord for all the social benefits he has the use of and for all that part of the earth he is permitted to enjoy. Such taxes place a fine upon home getting, deter men from marrying, and are made to increase in proportion as we obey the scriptural injunction to multiply and replenish the earth.

The income and inheritance taxes are much favored by some shallow thinkers; but, if incomes are honestly acquired, they belong, by the most sacred right of property, to their possessors. If not equitably acquired, the remedy lies in repealing the laws that permit the inequity. If a man has a right to the ownership of his natural powers, he certainly has a right to the product those powers have brought forth, and he also has a right to transmit those products to whomsoever he wills. Income and inheritance taxes violate man's ownership of himself, and are usually favored by a class of socialists who deny the doctrine of natural rights entirely, and assert that all rights are derived from the State.

All these taxes in class two, in addition to violating the principles of equity, are a direct obstacle in the way of the development and improvement of the race. The stronger, the quicker, the brighter a man is the more he is taxed. The more honorable he is, the less he lies about his wealth or his income, the more he is taxed. If the objects of taxation were to kill off the best specimens of the race, to crush out honesty, and candor, and conscienciousness, to encourage lying, perjury and fraud, to bring out and strengthen all the objectionable characteristics that a developing manhood is ever trying to eliminate from human nature—then taxes on wealth and income are to be commended. Otherwise they are to be condemned as infamous, iniquitous, and violative of every principle of natural right.

In this connection it is well to call to mind a source of revenue earnestly advocated by Professor Ely and others of his school and extensively adopted in many American cities. I refer to taxes of one sort or another on street railway or other privileges granted by municipal authorities. In such cases a rate of fare is fixed far in excess of the actual value of the service rendered, and then a part of the unjust income of the company is taken away and put into the public treasury. In other words, a street railway company is permitted by law to overcharge its patrons, and then the law attempts to get back a part of the overcharge by taxing the company's gross earnings, or by requiring the payment of so much per mile or per car for the privilege of charging those who ride more than the ride is worth.

Such a tax is not a tax on the street railway companies at all, but is a tax on those who pay fares to the company, collected by the company from each person every time he rides, and then turned over to the city treasury. The remedy here is evidently to make the rate of fare no more than the actual value of the service rendered and not impose the tax.

We have left for consideration only class first—taxes on land; and in this class there is great danger of perpetrating injustice. It is plain that any tax that in any way prevents men from using the earth—any tax that stands between man and his natural right to employ his labor in drawing his sustenance from the bounties of nature, must be especially objectionable. It violates the very first fundamental principle of equity. Such taxes have been levied extensively in India and in some European countries and always with most disastrous results.

C. J. Buell was born in 1852 in Cortland County, N. Y.; was graduated in law at Hamilton College, New York; removed to Minneapolis, Minn.; read "Progress and Poverty" in the spring of 1890, and became a convert; has been active in politics since that time, and has had much to do with radicalizing the Democratic party of his State. He resides in Longford Park, a suburb of St. Paul, and is a well-known and successful architect.

Most of the land taxes levied in the United States, however, are not subject to this objection. They are assessed only upon that part of the value of so-called real estate that is due to the development of the community, not upon that part of the value produced by the owner. Hence they impose no obstacle to the use of land but rather encourage its use, by making it cost more to hold it idle.

From what source, then, can revenue be derived, so as not to violate the principles of equity and the rights of man?

If there are functions that must be performed by society through its chosen agents, if in the natural order of human development the State is necessarily evolved, then the presumption is that in this same natural manner the very doing of this needed public work would produce a value which would be a natural source of public revenue. The labor of each individual brings to him the natural wages of the effort expended; so we might justly expect that the really needed service done by the State would bring to society its natural social wages. And the parallele goes further, it is even more complete. Just as the wages of each individual flow into his own possession by attaching themselves, in the shape of added values, to the materials upon which he has expended his energies, just so, in the same natural manner, the wages of the community created by social development and public works, flow into the possession of the community, by attaching themselves in added value to the lands which are naturally the common inheritance. It is a principle recognized and accepted everywhere that the construction of needed public works adds a value to the surrounding lands equal to or in excess of the cost of such construction. Accordingly, among all civilized people the principle is recognized, to a greater or less extent, that the benefitted landholders must pay for the public works that confer the benefit. Of course, no one could justly be called on to pay more than the equivalent of the benefit conferred. Nothing should ever be taken from one citizen by another, nor from any citizen by the State, nor from the State by any citizen, except as an equal value is given in exchange. Anything less than this is robbery.

But it is a well-known fact that any really needed public work is worth all it costs.

In this connection, however, there is another fact that needs brief consideration.

We have accepted the postulate that all have equal rights to the use of the earth. But as different parts of the earth possess different degrees of desirability for human use, and as all have equal natural rights to these best places, and as only some can possess them while others must take up with less valuable locations, the logic is irresistable that whatever be the special value of those favored spots, their favored possessors owe to their less favored brethren a sum exactly equal to that value. Whether the value of those naturally favored locations be divided equally among all the citizens in order to maintain their equality of right to the earth, or whether such values be used to pay for public necessaries that all have an equal right to use, is a matter that only the people of each community can justly decide for themselves.

Here, then, seems to be the natural source of public revenue. Those values of land that are due either to natural conditions or to the construction of needed public works, are the natural wages of society; and it is as much the duty of society to take its wages and use them for public purposes, as it is the duty of each individual to insist on getting, to do with as he pleases, the natural product of his own labor.

Of course it will be seen that much of the revenues of most civilized States is now divided from those natural sources and is therefore in harmony with the principles of equity. Such of it as is not is nothing better than robbery.

In the State of Minnesota a careful study of the reports of the State Auditor and of the books of the assessors in the cities reveals the fact that about two-thirds of all state and municipal revenue is now drawn from those values which I have tried to show are natural social wages. In all other States where statistics are accessible I find from one-half to three-quarters of all state and local revenue to be derived from the same source. In all cities a large part if not all the revenue for needed street work or park improvement is collected in special assessments against the benefitted land holders. From a careful study of this policy in many American cities, I find that it has been adopted more extensively, and its details worked out more equitably, in the city of St. Paul, Minn., than in any other American city.

We may now consider the changes in existing plans of taxation necessary to secure an equitable distribution of the burden.

So far as municipal and state revenue are concerned, it is evident that the only changes required are such simple modifications of the constitution and laws as will permit the extension of the policy of assessing the cost of public works against those land holders who are directly benefited by their construction. Also such changes as will assess all general taxes (instead of one-half to three fourths as now) against those general land values which are not produced by the land holders, but are produced by the presence and activities of the whole people, and to which the whole people have a natural right.

An examination of the facts in the case shows that those changes would increase the amount of taxes collected from only that class of people who are now holding land idle or very poorly improved; while it would greatly lighten the burden that now falls on all those who have properly improved their holdings and are putting their land to some useful purpose

In many states no constitutional change is needed, nothing but the repeal of those unwise and unjust laws that now tax one man more for making land useful, exerting labor on it, and producing good things from it, than another is taxed for holding equally valuable land idle, keeping labor off it, preventing the production of wealth, for no other purpose than that he may reap the benefits that come from the development of society, without paying an equivalent.

So far as the burden of national taxation is concerned no changes in the constitution of the United States are needed in order that it may all be drawn from social wages. The policy of assessing the cost of public improvements against the benefitted land holders is as applicable to national works as to municipal. This was made very plain by the discussion in the last Congress relative to the zoological garden and park to be erected in the northwestern part of the District of Columbia.

When the states shall have made the changes suggested, Congress may then avail itself of that provision of the national constitution which provides for the apportionment of direct taxes among the states according to population; for, as those values of land that constitute social wages are wholly due to the presence, the activities, and the necessities of population, it follows that to apportion national taxes among the States according to population would be to apportion them according to land values, and hence to call upon each state to furnish its equitable share for the support of the national government.

But Congress need not even wait for the states to adopt these changes. None of our national revenue is now derived from social values; it is all taken from the people in such a way as to come out of their individual wages. If they were to be apportioned among the states and collected as State taxes now are, much more than half would come from social values, and thus a long step would be taken toward equity.

And nothing would so stimulate the discussion of the whole problem of taxation, nothing would so soon force the people to the adoption of an equitable system of state and local taxation as to be confronted with the necessity of raising directly those additional sums that are now taken from them in such a manner as to prove many times more burdensome, and with the added evil that men don't know how much they pay for national purposes nor just when they pay it.

The change proposed would enable every taxpayer to refer to his tax receipts and learn just how many dollars and cents the national, state or municipal government costs him annually. He would be able to form some opinion as to whether he had got the worth of his money.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The Single Tax is a tax on land, regardless of its improvements and in proportion to its value. It implies the abolition of all other forms of taxation, and the collection of the public revenues from this source alone. It would be CERTAIN, because land values are most easily appraised; WISE, because, by discouraging the withdrawal of land from use and encouraging its improvement, it would expand opportunities for labor, augment wealth, and increase the rewards of industry and thrift; EQUAL, because every one would pay taxes in proportion to the value of the land, of right the common property of all, which he appropriated to his own use; and JUST, because it would fall not upon labor, enterprise, and thrift, but upon the value of a special privilege. It is more fully explained in the Single Tax Platform in another column; and in "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, every point is discussed and every objection answered.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1891.

The best and surest subject of taxation is the thing that perforce stays in one place; that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the assessor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1891.

The Bee does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it pauses only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

The products of individual industry should remain at all times untaxed. Take the annual rental value of land without regard for improvements, no matter what it amounts to. The community could put this fund to better uses than the individual landlords.—St. Louis Chronicle.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

The National Committee is carrying on the newspaper work of the Memphis committee in supplying news companies with single tax matter for their ready prints and plates.

Balance reported last week	$62 92
Paid A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company on account	60 00
Cash on hand	2 92
Due from newspaper companies for single tax moulds	15 00
Total assets	17 92
Liabilities:	
Due A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company for composition, etc.	18 75
Deficit	83

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVINS, Secretary.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The weather is too warm for news, and this week's story of our movement would be one of the shortest of chapters but for the accommodating spirit of the landlords of Hyattsville, whose opposition to the single tax adopted there gives us another page or more of interesting reading from the pen of Henry George, Jr., who writes:

THE SINGLE TAX FIGHT AT HYATTSVILLE.

"Men of Hyattsville, you hold a most enviable position. Your town has taken a great step forward in civilization, leading cities a thousand times her size. She is being talked of all over this country. She has won a name in history that will make her known for a hundred years."

The speaker was a tall, wiry young man, with thick brown hair, full beard, and pale, animated face. He stood at one end of a hall, behind a rough, uncovered wooden table. On the table was the only light—a large lamp—throwing a broad halo around the speaker and a circle of faces close to him, but leaving the rest of the audience sunk in darkness. The speaker's strong voice trembled with earnestness, and his right arm stretched forward impressively. The audience, all men, and mostly men in their thirties, sat still and breathless, with every eye fastened on the speaker. About the table behind which the speaker stood, some newspaper reporters were taking notes.

Out in the village street, before the hall, a little bunch of seven or eight

men engaged in earnest, but suppressed conversation. One was a medium sized man, with black moustache and imperial. Another a tall, bent, roughly clothed, sun-tanned man of perhaps fifty-five. A third was a Catholic priest, spare, young and amiable.

The speaker in the hall was Jackson H. Ralston, president of the Board of Town Commissioners, and he addressed a mass meeting of the voters of Hyattsville on the reasons why and the manner in which the single tax had been adopted for the town by the commissioners. The little bunch of men in the street outside the hall were the chief opponents of the policy of the three single tax commissioners. The man with black moustache and imperial was the large landowner, Dr. Charles A. Wells. The tall, bent man was Thomas H. Lotimer, one of the two dissenting commissioners. The priest was Father Wm. T. Russel.

Though the call for this meeting of the commissioners, unlike the cut and dried meeting of a week or more before, had been addressed to all the citizens of Hyattsville and been advertised as open to free speech, the society saviors openly declared that they would not engage in any discussion of the single tax question, and determined not only themselves to stay away from the meeting, but to prevent every one else whom they could influence from going. They had predicted that not a score of voters would attend. Instead of that, by a careful estimate, two-thirds of the voters were present. They were not only present, but were showing in every way possible their unqualified and emphatic satisfaction at the explanation of President Ralston and his two associate single tax commissioners. If nothing else did so, the frequent noise of hand clapping, stamping and cheering that came from the open windows and floated out on the air of the still little town, must have brought to the group in the dark street the unwelcome conviction that their rebellion was hopeless, that the new idea—the mother of the new taxation system—had taken deep hold and was not to be rooted up.

This mass meeting occurred on Thursday evening, July 21. Hyattsville had been aroused over it as it had never been aroused over any meeting before. The single tax commissioners had with patient dignity borne all the charges, insults and calumnies that could be heaped upon them, and now they were to make their reply at a public meeting which all citizens were invited to attend, and where any man, whatever his opinions, would be given opportunity to speak. The proposal was manifestly so fair that many men, hitherto prejudiced against the single tax commissioners, attended the meeting, and every chair and bench in the little hall—or gymnasium, as it is really—was filled. In the front row in the audience sat our single tax friend, Dr. Montague R. Leverson, with radiant face, and not far away from him was the rugged form of Joseph H. Darling, who had come down all the way from New York expressly for the occasion, bringing with him the enthusiastic greeting of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Commissioners Britt and Long sat modestly together in the audience on one side of the hall.

SYNOPSIS OF RALSTON'S SPEECH.

Promptly at 8 o'clock President Ralston rapped for order and explained the purpose for which the meeting was called, remarking that after the commissioners had spoken any citizen would be recognized, and that as the meeting had been called only for statement and discussion, there would be no resolutions to pass. With this introduction he began a speech marked by the utmost sincerity and earnestness, simple, straightforward and direct; now flowing with quiet dignity, now rising in indignation and scorn, and closing, at the end of an hour and a quarter, with an appeal to men's better nature—an appeal to his fellow townsmen not to lose faith in the course their commissioners had chosen for the town, but to stand fast amid scoff and calumies, and they would surely win the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

It was but fair, in view of the recent agitation, said the President, that the citizens of Hyattsville should know all the circumstances and precedents which led to the action of the Commissioners. He proposed to discuss the matter fully and fairly, and if any one was reflected upon the fault lay with the facts. The history of taxation in the town began three years before with the election of a board of which he was a member. Under the charter, the current state and county assessments of twelve years before were adopted. These were grossly unfair to the householders and favorable to those holding land for speculation. There is one instance where a piece of land was assessed at $40 which has since been assessed at $600.

It had been said that the recent action of the board reduced the town revenues from $500 to $1,000. This he denied. The present revenue, raised by a tax of 25 cents on the $100 on the value of land, alone raised more revenue than had last year been raised by a tax of 15 cents per hundred of the value of land and improvements together.

The original measure for taxation passed by the Legislature for this corporation of Hyattsville was drawn in such a way as to allow the exemption of personal property or improvements. The people, through their Commissioners, had at that time seen fit to exempt personal property, and he would say frankly that he believed then that the time would come when the citizens would have their eyes opened to the injustice of taxing improvements for the benefit of land speculators. Even if he had not been a single tax man he would, as a conscientious lawyer, have said it was both lawful and just. And had that provision not originally been made it would have prevented the exemption of church and other property from taxation. But if any one was to be blamed for that provision, he was ready and most willing to be blamed for it, as he had had a hand in its passage through the Legislature.

Here the audience relaxed from its tension and broke into loud applause.

Gentlemen who were on former boards, continued President Ralston, will denounce the action of the present commissioners as a surprise and without warrant of law.

As for warrant of law, two years ago one of the adverse party, Mr. Sebastian Aman, a member of the then board, had moved that personal property be exempted, and the question had been asked whether the board had the power. His reply was that they had. "Point out," said the speaker, "the difference in principle between the exemption of personal property then and of improvements now." The board was elected on no issue, had been urged by no public meeting in its action, but acted solely on what it thought was right, and under the authority vested in it.

No one questioned this authority. Indeed, the authority was sanctioned by a number of gentlemen of the opposition when, a year later, question was raised as to legality of the way in which the exemption had been effected. All agreed that the authority was clear but the manner adopted was doubtful, and at a small meeting one Sunday afternoon Dr. Wells and Mr. Wine, now so indignantly protesting, had agreed that the manner of exercising the authority of the law should be changed and approved of the recent act which he had got through the Legislature making clear the manner of exercising the authority to exempt. Yet the people of the town had been told that the speaker had sprung something upon them which had never been heard of and of which they knew absolutely nothing. He did not mean to criticize the actions or purposes of the opposing gentlemen, but he did mean to say that he had the right to deny their assertions.

It was also held up as a matter of impeachment that this Board had not consulted their fellow-citizens before adopting the single tax. He might meet this by stating that one of the men of the opposing party, Mr. F. J. Gromlick, when at one time a town commissioner, had petitioned the legislature to have the boundaries of the town so fixed that his own property would be exempted from taxation, and without consultation with his fellow-citizens. As a matter of fact before the adoption of the single tax measure a large percentage of citizens had been consulted. A list of thirty men who had pronounced in favor of the system was in his pocket. The board had not known of thirty men opposed to it, and he did not believe that if there now were thirty citizens opposed to it they would continue to oppose it after sober thought during the nine months to come before the next town election.

"Calling public meetings, gentlemen," said President Ralston, "is not the only way of obtaining men's opinions, and we have lately seen that it is one of the worst ways of getting at the real sentiment of the town." This reference to the packed and railroaded opposition meeting of a week before that would hear only one side of the question, was greeted with a burst of cheering. "The town's government," continued President Ralston, "is a representative one—not a democracy. Our business is not done through town meetings but through a Board of Commissioners acting for the general welfare. If the Board does not represent you rightly, you have the remedy at the next election." This statement brought forth cries of "Good, Good," and "That's it."

"It has been drummed into the ears of the people of Hyattsville, since the late action of the Board," said the speaker, resuming, "that the town was socialistic, anarchistic, and all else that was bad. Yet the Board's action had created the greatest interest everywhere throughout the country. People in Washington had stopped him to congratulate him, and even men who were not really in favor of the single tax system had told him that they wished to see it fairly tried."

CHEERS FOR HYATTSVILLE.

"It has been said that this board has struck the town a deadly blow," said President Ralston, lowering his voice and speaking with impressive deliberation, "yet here I have a great pile of letters and telegrams from all parts of the land and all classes of men congratulating us on what has been done. All but one come from men I have never seen, and most from men I never before heard of. Here is one:

The city of Baltimore tax reformers are with you. Do not recede. Land speculators the only objectors. Hyattsville will boom. Workingmen will bless you. J. G. Schonforber.

"Here is another:

We heartily indorse your efforts to provide a just system of taxation for your town. Exemption of improvements means more improvements, increased employment of labor and greater public prosperity. Single Tax League of Kings County, N. Y.

"Another says:

Stand fast, Ralston, for the good cause. Here's a new Lexington. Who knows? Wayland H. Smith, Philadelphia.

"Yet another reads:

Hold the fort. Don't be persuaded to tax your home for the benefit of land speculators. Buffalo Tax Reform Association.

"It has been said that your commissioners are trying to drive people away from this town, yet I have two or three letters here from men who, because of this very action of your commissioners, want to come here. Here is one:

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 18, 1892.

DEAR SIR: Am much interested in your single tax fight. Have you information to show what a home can be had for in Hyattsville, and what advantages of health, schools, etc., are? And show how accessible are th Congressional Library, the Smithsonian and Corcoran Gallery, etc. Yours truly, C. H. GREATHOUSE, Agt. Ass. Press. 8
With Louisville Courier Journal.

"And here is a letter from Jesse Smallwood, of our neighboring town of Laurel, who says the citizens there are manifesting the liveliest interest in the struggle going on here, and who avers as his belief that were the question at the present moment raised for the adoption of the single tax there, a majority would vote in its favor."

"All Anarchists!" shouted some one ironically from the dark end of the hall.

"All Anarchists," repeated President Ralston. "This man's a grocer, and takes up anarchy for by-play."

"Here is a letter," continued the president of the board, catching up a paper from a mass scattered over the table. "Here is a letter from the New York Tax Reform Association, an organization endorsed by such great firms and prominent business men as Cooper, Hewitt & Co., Dodd, Mead & Co., F. B. Thurber, George R. Reed, Wm. Steinway, Rogers, Peet & Co., Lord & Taylor, and Wm. R. Grace & Co. This letter reads:

NEW YORK, July 20, 1892.

SIR: This association organized to promote the exemption from taxation of capital engaged in production, looks with great hope on your cause, which is in our direction, but a step further than we go. Prof. Collins, of Cornell, expressed the opinion to our agent about six months ago that the

drift of things and the course of legislation was toward such action as that of your board of commissioners.

"These, gentlemen," cried the President of the Board, "give some idea of the kind of letters and telegrams your commissioners have been receiving. In the face of such testimony, without considering any other, can it be said that this Board has struck the town a deadly blow? I can tell you, gentlemen, who are striking the town a deadly blow. The men who have declared that they would rather have grass grow in the streets than pay taxes legally laid upon them by your Commissioners!"

A tremendous burst of applause greeted this unexpected and telling point. The speaker seemed to heed it not, but cried louder and with rapid utterance:

CARRYING THE CASE INTO COURT.

"Not content with a simple protest, the other side is endeavoring to carry this matter into court, and I am informed that they have raised a fund of $600 to pay lawyers' fees to fight over this $450 that we forego by exempting improvements. One of the opponents of the single tax lately said to another: 'Doctor, we must stop this thing. If it gets footing we will never be able to stop it.' That is true, but they do not seem to realize that the single tax has got a footing. They do not seem to appreciate that they are not contending against simply an action of the single tax Commissioners, but against an idea. They have raised $600 to hire lawyers to defeat an idea! They do not know that when an idea takes root in the minds of a people millions of dollars cannot pull it up."

Mr. Ralston stood motionless for a few seconds, gazing in fixed earnestness at his audience. Only a few persons scattered about the hall applauded. The rest sat in rapt silence.

"Gentlemen," resumed the speaker in a low, suppressed voice, "as a member of former Boards I may have done some things for the welfare of this town, but whatever I have done I count as dross beside this one act that has raised Hyattsville to a prouder place than any other town in the world. Young men of Hyattsville, to you I address myself particularly. Do not join in the senseless clamor of denunciation because your fathers might have done so. Think and act for yourselves, and help us keep our town in the place of enlightenment and dignity to which we have brought her."

The president ceased speaking and sat down, his face very pale with excitement. For several moments the audience sat motionless, but it quickly broke into wild applause. A little man with a German accent fairly rocked around in his chair and exclaimed to a neighbor: "He's right, he's right. Ralston's a real man." Several men got up and wanted to make motions in favor, as they proceeded to state, of the action of the Single Tax Commissioners, and from the applause following their words it was clear that they were expressing the sentiments of the large majority, if not the whole audience. But President Ralston would not entertain such motions, saying that the meeting had been advertised simply as one for statements from the Commissioners and for discussion by citizens, and that therefore while every one present might individually express his opinion it would not be in order to make a general expression through a motion or resolution.

There was some disappointment manifested at this, and a Mr. Baker, who couldn't keep his seat, insisted on a motion of endorsement.

"But," said Ralston, "since we implied in our advertisement that no motions or resolutions would be adopted, it would be manifestly unfair to those who are away for us to pass one or the other."

Mr. Baker was bound to have the last word, and muttered that most of those not present had deliberately stayed away. Ralston paid no attention to the remark, but said that the other two commissioners present would doubtless like to address the meeting, and that after they had spoken any gentleman present, whatever his views might be, would be recognized.

COMMISSIONERS BRITT AND LONG.

Commissioner George S. Britt arose, saying he had but little to say. In acting as he did on the Board he had followed his own judgment. It had been said that the single tax principle was a new one with him. He wished to state that he had accepted that principle six years before he came to Hyattsville. He had been criticized for voting for the single tax because he was not a taxpayer. The same objection might have been made to his becoming a member of the board, yet he had been elected without opposition. "If," said he, in conclusion, "I entertained the idea of weakening in my attitude on this matter in dispute from a feeling that there might possibly be some injustice done to those objecting, I am made strong again by the scheme now on foot to coerce the commissioners through a writ of mandamus; and I here say positively that as long as I have authority and am free to act, I shall neither rescind nor resign.',

The audience manifested the utmost delight at this straightforward and manly utterance. Commissioner Charles H. Long met with a like reception when he arose, and, in the simplest manner, said that, in his judgment, Mr. Ralston had made a fair statement of the facts of the matter, and that the only thing remaining for him (Long) to say was that he intended neither to rescind nor to resign.

THE ACTION APPROVED.

Several persons again got up to make motions of confidence in the single tax commissioners, but President Ralston quietly declined to hear them. William Guista remarked that motions and resolutions were unnecessary, as it must be very evident to all present that the meeting approved of the action of the commissioners. The audience cheered these words enthusiastically. Mr. Ralston then recognized L. H. Campbell, a man of polite manners, good intentions and education, but apparently ignorant of the principles underlying the single tax. He said that, with all due deference to those holding views to the contrary, he thought the single tax wrong, as he could see no distinction between property in land and property in other things. All classes of property should, in his opinion, be made to bear a proportionate burden of taxation. He was willing to listen and learn, however. It might be that he was wrong. If he were, he "would probably get run over sooner or later, and have some sense knocked" into him.

E. J. Dunning, editor of the National Economist, the official organ of the Farmer's Alliance, responded to Mr. Campbell in a short, comical little speech that excited shouts of laughter. He said he was a citizen of and a householder in Hyattsville, though not, perhaps, known to many. He belonged to an organization that had for its motto "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none." "This is a new party that believes that God made the natural resources for all men alike and not for a few speculators," said he. "I have just returned from a pretty lively convention we had out West. We had a big single tax meeting there, too, and I was pointed out, bald-headed and not beautiful though I be, as a man who lived in the only town on God's earth having a right idea of taxation. I hope, Mr. President, this only just system of taxation will be continued while I live in Hyattsville."

President Ralston then made a few remarks in answer to Mr. Campbell to the effect that the true method of taxation was not to tax a man on what he had but on the natural advantages he enjoyed; and, after asking if there were any others present who wished to be heard, and getting no response, he declared the meeting adjourned.

Long ere this the little bunch of dissenters in the street had dispersed. Darling, the pilgrim from New York, went around shaking hands with pretty much everybody. "I have been fully repaid by this meeting for all the trouble of coming from New York," he said. "It is an occasion I shall not forget. I have in my pocket some of the sacred soil that I shall carry back to our people in New York."

In connection with this Hyattsville fight, it should be made known that the attempts on the part of the society saviors to have Messrs. Britt and Long dismissed from the Government service have proven, and will continue to prove, abortive, thanks to the intervention of Tom L. Johnson, and through him, of Congressman Post, of Illinois.

TAKEN INTO COURT.

It should also be stated that the argument on the rule to show cause why a writ of mandamus should not issue commanding the restoration of improvement to the tax list, will be made at Marborough, the county seat, on Tuesday, July 26. The attorneys for the petitioners are L. W. Habercom, until recently fifth auditor in the United States Treasury Department; Mison Duckett, an old Maryland lawyer, and R. Ford Coombs, a young lawyer. There are two attorneys for the respondents. One is Charles H. Stanley, of Laurel, not a single taxer, but one of the brightest lawyers in the state, and who enters the fight because he is absolutely certain the Hyattsville commissioners have acted within their authority. The other attorney is our single tax friend, Dr. M. R. Leverson, who, in the opinion of Mr. Ralston has rendered the Hyattsville cause most valuable service. While the attorneys for the petition have exhibited evidences of uncertainty as to the issue, the attorneys for the respondents talk with much confidence, and firmly expect that the petition will be denied.

CARD FROM THE COMMISSIONERS.

The majority of the Hyattsville commissioners, in recognition of the encouragement they are receiving from different parts of the country, address THE STANDARD as follows:

HYATTSVILLE, Md., July 24, 1892.—Permit us through your columns to thank the many readers of THE STANDARD who have sent us encouraging letters and telegrams within the past week. Their work has been extremely valuable to us, and we thoroughly appreciate it. Please say to them and to all your readers, that we have not now, nor have we at any time, had the slightest idea of receding from the position we have taken, and we will continue to occupy it so long as fighting ground remains under our feet.

Very truly yours, JACKSON H. RALSTON,
G. S. BRITT,
CHAS. H. LONG.

MEETINGS IN CHICAGO.

Reports from Chicago describe the character of the attendance as the most hopeful feature of the meetings there. From week to week new faces appear, bringing with them every evidence of earnest inquiry. Fully 25 per cent. of the audience last Thursday evening were strangers, who gave the closest possible attention to the speakers. The address of the evening was by President Warren Worth Bailey, who spoke of the progress of the movement, at the same time outlining the principles of the single tax. He showed the marvelous growth of our idea, and predicted greater conquests in the near future. The paper was favorably received, and the discussion which followed was of absorbing interest, a question from a Socialist present affording John Z. White an opportunity to make a searching analysis of the socialistic, anarchistic, and other doctrines of social and economic reform. His exposure of their essential weakness was complete and conclusive. Short speeches were made by Mr. Zapperb, an individualist; George V. Wells, J. M. Place, Robert Cumming, Mr. Gochegan, and Mr. Moeller. H. W. McFarlane occupied the chair.

ANOTHER POSIBLE SINGLE TAX CONGRESSMAN.

There is a fair prospect that Jonathan B. Taylor, a prominent and active member of the Chicago Single Tax Club, will be the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Fourth District of Illinois.

A PRIME MINISTER LENDS A HAND.

The Single Tax Club of Victoria, British Columbia, has begun the monthly publication of a neat eight-page paper called "Single Tax," the price of which is 50 cents a year. We make the following extract as of interest to STANDARD readers in more ways than one:

The elevation of the Hon. Theodore Davie to the position of Premier of the Province affords an opportunity for single tax men in this Province to congratulate themselves on the progress of the movement. The last three sessions of our Provincial Legislature have been marked by very substantial advances along the path of true reform, and there is every reason to hope that public sentiment will compel our legislators to follow to its logical conclusion the work of the session of 1892. We do not claim the new premier as a convert to the only just and equitable method of taxation, but his action in the last session of our local Legislature has given single tax men throughout the Province a vantage ground upon which they may stand and demand by their votes the unconditional abolition of all taxes that bear unequally upon those who are engaged in the work of wealth production. The compulsory exemption of improvements to the extent of fifty per cent. of their value, and the assessment of land to its full value in all municipalities in the province, are important measures for

which the new premier may claim just credit. As there is no finality in legislation, we may suggest to the premier that there is room for him to further distinguish himself. Such unjust impositions as the provincial revenue tax, the property tax, and taxes on trade cannot be successfully defended so long as there remains a value on land created by the community, which in justice should be used to defray all the necessary expenses of the Government.

A CANADIAN ASSESSOR TO THE FRONT.

The Montreal Star reports the fact that on the 19th City Assessment Commissioner Pratt, of Ottawa, lectured before the Ottawa Board of Trade in favor of the Henry George system of taxing land values.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Divisions A and C.—Rev. C. O. Shultgrew, 116 Chandler street, Jamestown, N. Y., has a little knowledge of the single tax. Please treat the subject chiefly on its moral side.

Divisions D, E and F.—Rev. John Brown, Fall River, Mass., takes an active interest in labor matters and is supported in his investigation of social questions by the majority of his church.

Divisions B, G and H.—Wm. M. Sproul, Paw Paw, Ills., free trader and believer in direct taxation. Probably knows little of the single tax. Influential farmer.

Divisions I and J.—Warren N. Woodson, Room 1306 Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, Ills., free trader and progressive.

Divisions K, L and N.—J. S. Kent, Swartmore, Penn., lumber merchant, prohibitionist and favorably inclined to the single tax.

Divisions M, O and P.—Editor Daily News, Des Moines, Ia., recently read "Progress and Poverty," and is favorably impressed.

New York, P. O. Box 471. MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL, Secretary.

THE WATCHWORD.

London (Can.) Daily Advertiser.

The town of Hyattsville has thrown off all taxes on improvements, and will collect its civic revenues from land values only. An impetus to the building trade has already been given. Speculators have held land without improvements while the neighboring owners built and added to the value of the vacant lots. Under the new system this will not be encouraged. The vacant lot owner will have to turn his property to account, or sell it to some one who will, or he will lose by the transaction. In Ottawa, ex-Mayor McDougall and City Assessor Pratt favor this system, and the Board of Trade have received a favorable report on it. In all probability the issue will be raised in the next municipal elections. There is this to be said in favor of the George system: its supporters have the courage of their convictions; they are aided by opponents who, in many cases, either ignorantly or by design, misrepresent the single tax on land values, only to be brought into humiliation when an honest investigator reads and thinks for himself. "Investigate!" is the watchword of the single tax men.

THE COMING FIGHT IN ENGLALD.

Harold Frederic in N. Y. Times.

Elections now involve such prodigious personal expense that neither side desires to hasten another dissolution. Very probably by the time the next election comes the Commons will have passed a bill putting these expenses on the public purse. This will be only one of the many measures similarly radical which will be sent up for the Lords to throw out. Some of them, like home rule, abolition of plural voting, and taxation of ground rents, will be sent up more than once, until the onus of the wholesale blocking of the popular will has been fastened on the Lords with all possible completeness. Then the greatest battle of English political history will come, with the wiping out of hereditary legislators added to other burning issues.

"CYNTHIA WAKEHAM'S MONEY."

This is the title of the new story published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, from the pen of Anna Katharine Green, author of "The Leavenworth Case" and a whole catalogue of other novels with detective and law court plots. In "Cynthia Wakeman's Money" there is enough mystery to attract the attention of the reader, and it is unravelled in a way that excites and maintains his interest.

LABOR REFORM SONGSTER.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor has published an edition of Phillip Thomson's Labor Reform Songster. Copies are sold for fifteen cents.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

Alexander Berkman, a New York Anarchist of Russian-Jewish birth, attempted to assassinate H. C. Frick, manager of the works at Homestead, Penn. Mr. Frick was twice shot and twice stabbed, but he will recover. The assassin says he went to Homestead to kill Frick as the enemy of all the people.

Chili has paid an indemnity of $75,000 to the families of United States sailors slain and injured in the riot at Valparaiso and cordial relations between the two countries have been restored.

George Shiras, Jr., of Pittsburg, has been nominated as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

According to the report made to the House of Representatives by the Democratic majority of the Yellowstone Park Investigating Committee, a corporation for which Russell Harrison, son of the President, sought special favors, arranged to set aside $5,000 worth of stock for young Harrison's benefit.

FOREIGN.

The mission of Sir Charles Evan Smith, British agent in Morocco, has failed, and Sir Charles has broken off relations with the Sultan, because the latter's agent endeavored to bribe Sir Charles to sign a mutilated treaty.

Mr. Gladstone's Parliamentary majority for Home Rule will be 42.

The brig Tahiti has been wrecked in the Pacific, and near 400 Gilbert Islanders have perished.

PERSONAL.

"Uncle Tom," formerly of Philadelphia but now of St. Louis, was born in Germany, forty-two years ago. Several centuries before, his ancestors were highway robbers of marked ability and great fame, who, from their castle, levied tribute upon travelers. During the first French revolution his paternal great-grandfather got upon the wrong side of the fence and was promptly beheaded. His paternal grandfather was a soldier for thirteen years, fighting at first under Napoleon the Great, and afterwards against him. He spoke thirteen languages, but could not write his own, had thirteen children, and died at the age of 113 years. During the Russian invasion in 1812, "Uncle Tom's" maternal grandfather fled for his life because he thrashed an impudent Russian colonel who had been quartered on him. The father of "Uncle Tom," a rebel in the revolution of 1848-49, was for weeks compelled to hide in the caves of the Black Forrest to save his life. At the age of 5 years "Uncle Tom" himself was sent to the public schools.

He continued to go until 14 years old, in the meantime having private lessons at home, and afterwards went to a high school for two years, where overstudy affected his health to such an extent that it ended his career as a future professor, statesman, or bishop. At the age of 17½ years he ran away from home, and came to the United States. He had not a coin in his pocket, and his English vocabulary consisted of "yes" and "no." Since then he has been a "counter-jumper," a house painter, a dyer, a waiter, a bartender, a newsboy, and a white beer brewer; he has worked in an iron foundry and boiler shop, has washed kegs in a lager beer brewery, has labored in a tobacco factory and on farms; he has acted as a gardener, and been a night watchman, a "roust-about," and an ice-cutter, and has wheeled sand and loaded pig-iron. He has also been a bottle washer, a railroader, a tramp, a soldier, a hostler, a hack driver, a harness cleaner, a carriage washer, a private coachman and a canvasser. At present he is employed by a manufacturing company.

In 1874, believing that the coming revolution would be one of bullets, not ballots, "Uncle Tom" returned to Germany and re-entered the army for the purpose of studying the then latest mode of warfare, a precaution which the subsequent invention of smokeless powder has partly made unnecessary. He used to be a Republican, but at the time of Garfield's election he became disgusted with the party and left it. His attention was first drawn to "Progress and Poverty" by its publication in the now extinct New York Truth; but as he was then a traveling man he did not read the book until 1886. He was a delegate to the Single Tax Conference of 1890, runs a single tax letter writing corps of his own, and his nom de plume is one of the best known names in the movement.

Professor F. W. Blackmar, of Kansas University, publishes a monograph on "Indian Education," through the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia. He argues that the only salvation for the Indian is to educate all the Indian children, teaching each some particular trade or profession, and after they are educated to keep them, if possible, inside the pale of civilization, and not send them back to the reservation, where they are more than likely to drift back into barbarism.

In the Cosmopolitan for August Hamlin Garland contributes a sketch of Jersey's "Salt Water Day."

Congressman Michael D. Harter, of Ohio, is one of the Democrats who ought to be returned to the next Congress. The protectionists have fitted him up with a district—the Fourteenth—in which the majority for McKinley over Campbell was about 1,600; but Harter is a fighter, and with the help of the free traders of his district there is strong hope that he may pull through. We trust that every single tax free trader of the Fourteenth Ohio district will make his voice and vote count for Harter in the campaign.

Amos Fonda, of Hartwell, Hamilton County, Ohio, is said to be one of the most enthusiastic single tax men in the state.

Mrs. E. M. Blackman, of Leavenworth, is State Secretary of the Single Tax Propaganda Association for Kansas and editor of the Leavenworth Labor News, a bright single tax paper. She was delegate to the State convention of the People's party from Leavenworth County. Mrs. Lease, the orator who did so much to defeat Ingalls, is also a member of the Propaganda Association and was a delegate to the convention from Sedgwick County. She was by an overwhelming vote elected delegate to the National convention of the People's party held at Omaha.

The irrepressible George C. Ward keeps up his rat-tat-too in the columns of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. E. J. Shriver, Jose Gros, and others have convinced the readers of the magazine that Mr. Ward's economics are up side down, but they do not convince him. As an illustration of Ward's vagaries, we may mention his idea that the single tax upon land values would add to the price of goods. He reasons it out in this manner: The tax is paid out of rent; but rent is paid out of what purchasers pay for goods; therefore, purchasers of goods pay the tax. It will be readily seen that Mr. Ward's confusion is due to the double use of a term—that which expresses the idea that rent is paid out of what purchasers pay for goods. One use of it, a use in which it is true, indicates that the purchaser furnishes the money with which the rent is paid

the other use, the false one, implies that the purchaser pays more for goods when the seller pays land rent than when he does not. It is by such shifting uses of terms that Mr. Ward deceives himself and tries most innocently to deceive others. Let him ask the price of sugar at any store the land rent of which is low, and then the price of the same quality of sugar at any store in the same city where land rent is high, and he will find some difficulty in satisfying himself that the buyers of sugar pay the rent of the store site. Sugar is as low in the store which stands upon high rent land as in that which stands upon low rent land. It is the same with all goods of equal quality, handled by merchants of equal reputation. In one sense, a wholly immaterial sense, purchasers pay rent; part of what they give for goods goes to the landlord. But in the other and the only important sense, purchasers do not pay rent; the goods cost them the same irrespective of the rent of the site where they are sold. A little more thinking may convince Mr. Ward that rent is a deduction from the aggregate profits of production at given locations, not an addition to the price of particular goods. It follows that a tax on rent does not fall upon purchasers, but is paid once for all by the rent-taker, whose rent is to that degree diminished; and this is the real point at issue.

James Bryce will probably be the Secretary for the Colonies in Mr. Gladstone's cabinet.

Professor G. H. Withey, who has been superintendent of public schools at Oak Harbor, Ohio, for the past five years, goes to Sandusky, Ohio, to study and practice law. Professor Withey is a free trader of the kind that will be welcomed by the single tax men of Sandusky.

In closing the meetings of the San Francisco Single Tax Club for the year, the president, O. C. Stewart, M. D., delivered an eloquent address, which has been published in pamphlet form.

Among the contributors to the August Arena are Gail Hamilton, U. S. Senator James H. Kyle, Congressmen Geo. Fred Williams, Wm. T. Ellis, Mary A. Livermore, Frances E. Willard, Mrs. General Lew Wallace and Mrs. Frances E. Russell. Helen H. Gardener, in "The Danger of An Irresponsible Educated Class in a Republic," finds a theme which has been waiting for the pen of a thoughtful writer.

No matter how bitterly the workingmen of Homestead may feel toward Henry Clay Frick, they cannot but pity his two-weeks-old baby. Think of being branded for life as "Charles A. Dana Frick."

Mr. E. Q. Norton is reported to have made arrangements at Norwood, a suburb of Cincinnati, for a debate on the tariff question. The president of the Young Men's Democratic Club is heartily in favor of this kind of campaign work, and if it is once begun there is no doubt of our soon hearing all over the city and county the diapason of a free trade cannonade.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON JOINS "THE HUE AND CRY."

The Boston Journal publishes the following letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, which fully explains itself:

In your editorial note of Friday you observe that "Wm. Lloyd Garrison is not joining in the absurd political hue and cry that a tariff has no effect in maintaining wages." If not too late let me join now. To me no political hue and cry is more absurd than that which pretends that wages are maintained by protective tariffs. These only limit markets, destroy industries, diminish employment and reduce the purchasing power of earnings. The humbug is too transparent to need exposure. The donkey's ears protrude through the lion's hide.

Your assertion that "Mr. Garrison admits that the readjustment of wages that would inevitably follow the adoption of a tariff for revenue only is the most difficult problem which its advocates would have to face" is incorrect. I admit nothing of the kind. I see no problem and no difficulty in abolishing protection. I see a vast problem and enormous difficulties in store for us, of which the Homestead trouble is but a slight suggestion, if the robber system is continued. Justice pays better wages than monopoly, and every readjustment on its lines is beneficent, and not to be feared. I attribute your errors of statement to unfamiliarity with my published sentiments, rather than to intentional misrepresentation.

Permit me to exchange the pain of criticism for the pleasure of commendation. I applaud and enjoy the Journal's desire to have the Democratic position on free trade defined. Protection is either right or wrong. If it is right the attitude of the Republican party and the exactions of the McKinley bill are unimpeachable. We cannot have too much of a good thing. If it is wrong there is no ground upon which to pause short of its annihilation.

I notice, as you do, that some of your contemporaries who favor Mr. Cleveland's election, are somewhat disturbed by the clean cut tariff plank in the Democratic platform. Although themselves diligent in proclaiming and elucidating free trade principles, they wince at the idea of a practical application. They seem to regret the defeat of the committee's insincere, fast-and-loose, facing-both-ways declaration, which the convention had the good sense to squelch, in the interest not only of good morals but of good politics. "Why "Republican protection" should have been especially denounced, may, perhaps, be explained by the evidence that considerable "Democratic protection" sentiment has since developed itself. In your effort to expose the inconsistency, I wish, in the Irish phrase, "more power to your elbow."

It is time that political platforms meant something more than catching votes, and it is this common insincerity of both parties which makes it impossible for independents, like myself, to breathe the stifled air of the great political wigwams, and forces us to stay out in the open.

FREE TRADE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Sydney (N. S. W.) Daily Telegraph.

It is the common practice of Australian protectionists to deny the existence of a free trade party in the United States. They assert that the only differences between parties on the fiscal issue are with regard to the degree of protective taxation and the details of its incidence. Recent occurrences in Congress furnish a very conclusive answer to that assertion. The debate on the bill to place wool on the free list, which with a bill to similarly place bagging for cotton, machinery for the manufacture of such bagging, cotton gins, etc., was triumphantly passed, brought forth speeches from a dozen leading Democratic representatives, some of which were worthy of Cobden. The speech of Mr. T. L. Johnson, a member from Ohio, the very State most interested in having the wool duties retained, shows how far American free traders are ready to go.

THE PINKERTON TROOPS.

Harper's Weekly.

Great manufacturing or transportation companies, when they get into trouble with their workingmen and wish to protect their factories, or their docks, or railroad stations, or shops against encroachment by striking operatives, have fallen into the habit of calling upon a business firm that furnishes to order protection of property in the shape of armed men at wholesale or retail as may be required. This arrangement may do credit to American enterprise and invention, but it throws a singular light upon the state of American civilization. * * * An armed force of several hundred men may quickly be set on foot to serve ostensibly as the posse comitatus of some officer of the peace, as deputy sheriffs or deputy marshals, in any part of the country, but really being in the pay of some rich man or corporation, to do such watching and marching and fighting as the interests of the employer may require.

Whatever may justly be said in favor or even of the necessity of such an arrangement under existing circumstances, it will not be denied that it has a distinctly mediæval flavor. * * * But it is by no means improbable that, if the state of things continue which furnishes employment for such a force, the financial success of the Pinkerton agency will stimulate the spirit of competition, and we may before long have several organizations of the same nature in this country ready and eager to engage in any enterprise of private warfare that may offer itself.

MOFFETT'S TARIFF PAMPHLET.

The importance of a thorough knowledge and understanding of general principles as the basis for any detail work in exposition of the tariff question, is well illustrated by the little pamphlet by S. E. Moffett, Washington correspondent of the San Francisco Examiner, entitled "The Tariff, What It Is, and What It Does," and published by the Potomac Publishing Company at Washington. It is without exception the best small work on the subject, and will be found invaluable by speakers and writers in the campaign.

THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE.

Syracuse (N. Y.) Trade Unionist.

Some day the workingmen of all civilized countries will find out just what they want and set about getting it by rational means. They have been for generations wasting time and breath and labor and talent, reaching out for an indefinable something—a will-o'-the-wisp—that has led them on from slough to slough and ever eluded their grasp when apparently ready to be seized. And all the time, right before them in the broad glare of noonday, clinging to their feet, sticking to their garments, frequently smeared over their grimy countenances and thrown into their eyes—trying in its dumb way always to obtain recognition—was the pearl of great price for which they sought—land! Millions upon millions of acres lying idle, untilled, unimproved, useless, while millions of God's creatures wander homeless and houseless and hungry. Why! Because a mere handful of more fortunate men whose ancestors or predecessors have by hook or crook, by violence or chicanery, obtained what they call "vested rights" in the soil, in the forests, the mines and the quarries—in the bounties that God provided for all his children—have employed cunning lawyers to frame statutes for their protection, and with all the machinery of government at their command are enabled to levy tribute upon those who would make use of these needful things—who would dig and delve, and sow and reap, and build and fill the world with things of utility and beauty. It is the land-holder, as a land-holder, who, more than the liquor-seller or the gambler or the criminal, causes want and misery and discontent and the selling of souls and bodies for money that the wretched possessor may live—exist; who fills the alms-house, the charity hospital and the potter's field, that he and his may roll in unearned luxury at home, and loll upon velvet-cushioned pews in fashionable churches dedicated to the worship of Mammon.

VIEWED FROM A BROWN STONE FRONT.

Edward Atkinson.

There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods relatively to the wages as low as they are to-day, nor a period when the workman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product. Hence, so far as our experience goes in dealing with the great flood of immigration which has poured in upon us in increasing measure during these twenty-five years, greater in the last ten years than ever before, all the facts and conditions would tend to prove that we might invite its continuance, so far as it consists of the intelligent and the capable who constitute by far the greatest portion, rather than impose taxes to keep the intelligent and capable from coming here to improve their condition. We now have specific and absolute data in respect to manufactures, the mechanic arts and mining, going to prove that, through the application of science and invention in these specific directions, those who do the actual work in the sense in which the workman uses that phrase—in a lessening number of hours and with less arduous effort—secure constantantly advancing wages, increased purchasing power, better food and more of it, more clothing, if not quite as good on account of the obstruction to the import of wool, and also, outside of a few congested districts in cities, better shelter at lessening cost to the occupant.

YET GLADSTONE BLINKS THE SINGLE TAX.

New York World.

It is said that a person standing on the ruins of the old castle of Hawarden, near Gladstone's home, can see with the naked eye enough unused park land to furnish livelihood for perhaps a million people. Most of this land is owned by the Duke of Westminster, and only the rabbits that overrun it seem to get any advantage out of it. Mr. Gladstone's own estate comprises several thousand acres of forest land untouched by any axe except that of the G. O. M. himself. It has been at times a favorite hunting preserve for Herbert Gladstone, who occasionally slaughters rabbits there.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

——"Kastes," the nom de plume of a prominent business man of Cincinnati, Ohio, writes: An effort was made by the free traders to persuade the Young Men's Democratic Club of Cincinnati, that the Congressional Record edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" is good literature for their campaign work. At the meeting of their executive committee the proposition was discussed to adopt the book for distribution through Hamilton county. E. Q. Norton was invited, as a single taxer, to address the committee and did so. Some of the committee were known to be strongly in favor of the plan, but there were others who claimed, with more emphasis than knowledge, perhaps, that there is other free trade literature, just as good as this, which can be used without risk of earning for the club the reputation of being a single tax body.

The committee decided to lay the question before the entire club at its next meeting, and when that was done the meeting voted to raise $100, or more, for the distribution of the book. Committees in each voting precinct will take the names of Republican voters from the registration books and to these Republicans copies of the book will be mailed. If more than enough money is raised to supply a copy to every Republican voter in the county, doubtless some protectionist Democrats will be mercifully remembered too.

Everybody expects to make the fight on free trade principles, and in a community where the Democratic press has for years been supposed to be dominated by such a paper as the Cincinnati Enquirer, this is a great deal. It is cheering to observe, too, how, amongst the men who know what Democratic principles are, and especially amongst young Democrats, a growing recklessness of the Enquirer's behests is greeted on all sides with quiet but pronounced approval. Straddling tactics on the tariff question are not likely to be popular with Democrats this year, even in Hamilton county.

An effort will be made (has already begun, in fact), irrespective of the Democratic clubs, to build up a flourishing diocese in Ohio this summer for "Saint George." Our friends in Cleveland are jubilant over the prospect of a "Simon pure" free trade standard-bearer in Tom L. Johnson, and from what I have heard in the past few days, it is plain enough that even Republicans there are "hungering" to support him. One of these whom I have known for years as an unwavering, "straight ticket," enthusiastic Republican lately volunteered the information to me, "I believe I'm getting to be something of a free trader myself." This is only a straw, to be sure. But here is another straw, and a bigger one. An Associated Press agent, who has been a life-long Republican and has a wide and familiar acquaintance with the foremost men of his party throughout the state, assures me "there are hundreds of free trader in the Republican party—hundreds of them, and the very best men they've got." It did not occur to me at the time to corroborate his position by quoting from John Sherman: "Every advance towards a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization:" but when I replied that I should be glad to have proof that he was right he proceeded to name them. One of them is now a prominent Federal office holder in Cincinnati in the Treasury Department, another is an ex-Congressman of national reputation, who could have been re-nominated and re-elected, but was unwilling to go back to Congress as a McKinley Republican. The fields are whitening.

——Charles Fred. Adams writes from New York: "I have been charmed with recent editorials in the Evening Post in which, with singular lucidity and force, that paper points out the ethical estoppel which weighs upon "protection" Socialists when they assume to protest, on moral grounds, against the Homestead strikers' use of force in support of exclusive privileges for their union; and in all sincerity I wish the Post could be made to think it worth its while and space to explain as fully and clearly its reasons for omitting to impeach as an equally unjustifiable use of force to create unjust and harmful privileges, the legislation which enables individuals to acquire the unqualified legal title to the rental value of natural opportunities (as distinguished from the right of possession and use, subject to the obligation to pay the rental value to the Tax Collector, in relief, pro tanto at least, of other taxation for the support of government).

Surely the Post must admit that many honest and some intelligent persons, for instance, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Russel Wallace, William Lloyd Garrison, Tom L. Johnson, Henry George, have avowed the opinion (in effect) that the appropriation of ground rents by a part of the community is an injustice which does much harm, especially by promoting the withholding (on "speculation," or by prohibitory asking "rents") of desirable sites, fields, and mines, from the labor and capital which stand ready to utilize them, but which, by being thus excluded from these opportunities, are compelled to compete for employment by, and on the terms of, those who control the available sites, fields, and mines which their "owners" deign to allow mankind to use. We do not allow "investment" in a man's muscles and skill; we now protest against recognizing any right to "protection" by governmental restriction of the freedom of international exchange; have we no fault to find with this even more fundamental "restriction," of the freedom fully to utilize natural resources and opportunities in production? Is not liberty to produce originally, without artificial hindrances or burdens, quite as important as liberty to exchange afterwards the articles produced? Would there be so many riotous strikes, and monopolistic "unions," if all natural opportunities and resources had been kept available for use by the capital and labor in need of profitable employment?

——W. Edwin Brokaw writes from Des Moines, Ia.: In a recent issue of THE STANDARD is an article by Dr. Malcolm on the money question which he offers "for the purpose of eliciting criticisms and objections." One criticism occurs to me, one which is applicable to nearly all that I see written or hear spoken on the subject, namely, that he seems to think it necessary for the government to loan out the money in order to get it into circulation. Please allow me to quote from that admirable little pamphlet, "Money and Currency," by A. E. Stephenson and G. F. Stephens, and which ought to be in the hands of every one interested in the money question. In answer to "How should currency be put in circulation?" It says:

"It is strange that such should ever have been asked, but in these days of bounties and pension grabs, when many people are advocating the establishment of government pawnshops, it may be well to point out that there is only one honest way to get the people's notes into circulation. There are three ways proposed—1st. They can be given away, as is done in the case of bounties and pensions. 2d. They can be loaned, as they are now loaned to the national banks, and as they would be if the sub-treasury scheme were adopted or the various plans for lending to landlords. 3d. They can be used in the purchase of labor or commodities necessary to support the government. Of course, the last way is the only one that is justifiable, and the multitude of schemes by which it is proposed to give away government money or lend it out at a nominal rate, do not recognize the fact that currency is only valuable so far as the taxing power of the state is pledged to its redemption."

There is more good sound political economy in that one quotation than in tons of tones of literature both pro and con that is being said and read upon the currency question. More good can be done by driving home to the thought of the people the one truth of that paragraph, than in any amount of opposition to the demands—whether crude or otherwise—of an aroused and outraged people. Loan schemes will lose their charms when the people learn that there is a "better way" of getting currency into circulation. There has been too much quibbling about details and history—not enough study of principles—of the money as well as the tariff question. They are equally simple when properly presented. In the interest of truth and progress single taxers should help brush away the cobwebs of mystery and vague generality that enshroud the money question at present. Simplify and clarify should be our motto. That is what "Money and Currency" does, and I have bought 1,000 copies of it, most of which I expect to give away in the interest of equity.

——Susie Scott Hall writes from Bay Shore, L. I.: Bay Shore is a beautiful place, and before we came we dreamed of big pitchers of cream and plenty of pure country milk. "It was a dream." No cream is to be had in the whole of Bay Shore. Even the milkman expects to be treated with consideration for letting us have two quarts a day for fourteen cents. He cannot furnish us more. The answer to our enquiries why he cannot get milk and cream is that, although there is splendid pasture and a great deal of vacant land, it is all held so high for speculation that it would not pay to put cows on these expensive acres. So we look at the vacant green fields opposite our little cottage and wish for the single tax—and cream.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

THE STANDARD is a weekly paper of sixteen pages, and is the leading single tax and free trade periodical of the world. Its subscription price is $3.00 a year, payable in advance.

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Sales, etc	500
On hand for future sales	150
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THE HOUSEHOLD.

SUMMER SALADS.

ALICE CHITTENDEN.

The summer appetite is apt to be fickle, and it was probably to meet this contingency that salads were invented. If the curious would know when and how, I will refer them to John Cordy Jeffersons "Book of the Table," wherein sixty-four different greens are mentioned as having been used for "sallats" in the time of Queen Bess.

Salads tempt the eye as well as the palate. The crisp, tender green of lettuce, the varied greens of escarole, the dark green of cress, may all have their beauty comingly enhanced by the rose-pink of tomatoes, the red of radishes and the gold of a well-made mayonnaise.

Whenever it can be avoided, which is seldom indeed, do not wash lettuce. Cress is often infested with little bugs, and must be most carefully picked over. When it is necessary to wash green vegetables for salads, let the water be of the coldest; after lying in water for half an hour, put a few leaves at a time in a wire basket and shake as dry as possible; arrange on a cold dish and set in a cold place, but never mix any kind of dressing with a salad until you are ready to serve it. The plain French dressing is generally made at the table by the host or hostess. Wafers and cheese are passed with the salad course. "Pulled bread," cottage cheese and lettuce is considered a very elegant course. When a loaf of bread is "slack-baked," take it from the oven, pull out the inside in small, irregular pieces, and crisp and brown them in the oven. Put a few crisp lettuce leaves and a little square of cottage cheese on each plate and pass the "pulled bread" and butter.

The French dressing is the simplest and most economical. Put half a teaspoonful of salt and half as much pepper in a small china bowl; add oil gradually, rubbing and mixing the seasoning with it until you have used three tablespoonfuls; then add one tablespoonful of vinegar and pour over the lettuce.

If you make this dressing at the table, put the seasoning in the bowl of the salad spoon, adding one spoonful of oil; pour this over the lettuce and toss well with the fork while you add the rest of the oil and the vinegar.

Mayonnaise.—Break the yolk of a raw egg into a soup plate, stand on the ice until very cold; the oil must also be very cold. I generally place it in the ice box over night. Add to the yolk half a teaspoonful each of salt and mustard, and a dash of cayenne; rub well together, using a four-pronged fork, and then add very slowly from a half pint to a pint of table oil. Always stir one way, rapidly and steadily. If it becomes too thick, add a little lemon juice or vinegar from time to time. This may be kept for several days in a covered tumbler. Put it on the ice or in some cold place. For those who are fond of onion flavor, a teaspoonful of scraped onion or onion juice may be added.

Cream Dressing.—There are several kinds of cream dressings without oil. The best is made by mashing very smooth the yolks of two hard-boiled eggs; then add a raw yolk and work with a broad-bladed knife until you have a jelly-like paste; stir in half a teaspoonful of salt, half as much pepper and a tablespoonful of melted butter; add slowly a gill of thick cream and lastly two tablespoonfuls of vinegar. Some tastes are pleased with a dressing made by mixing a gill of sour cream with a palatable seasoning of salt, pepper and vinegar.

Cucumbers must be peeled, sliced and laid in very cold salted water for an hour; shake dry and send to table with a French dressing. This is especially nice with fish. They are also used in combination with sliced raw tomatoes or young onions.

The tender, white leaves of oyster plant with an equal quantity of chopped green onions make a very nice salad.

Nastivetium leaves, stems and buds either alone or combined, with cress or lettuce makes an excellent, spicy and pretty salad. Garnish the dish with the flowers.

Extract the seeds from the large green peppers, chop them and mix with double the quantity of shaved cabbage.

Among herbs useful for salads are sorrel, dandelions and pepper grass. All of the above require the French dressing.

Small tomatoes, peeled by immersion in boiling water, cooled in the ice box, and served with a teaspoonful of mayonnaise, makes one of the prettiest of salad courses.

Six firm, ripe tomatoes, sliced a fourth of an inch thick, and mixed with a medium-sized Spanish onion, sliced very thinly, gives a most delicious salad. Use French dressing.

Arrange the leaves of a large, fine head of lettuce in the salad bowl with three green peppers, cut small, from which the seeds have first been extracted. Mix also with these a small Spanish onion sliced, and half of a red pepper peeled and chopped. Omit the pepper from the French dressing. White, Bermuda or young onions may be substituted for Spanish onions, but they lack the tenderness and delicacy of flavor of that vegetable.

Tomatoes and lettuce are a favorite combination. Whether you arrange the sliced tomatoes on a bed of tender lettuce, or make a cup of some of the crinkled inner leaves and nestle a small pink, peeled tomato in the outer, with a teaspoonful of mayonnaise on top, it is as agreeable to the eye as to the taste.

The salads to be made from cooked vegetables are legion and can only be hinted at in this paper. A potato salad is almost a dinner in itself; certainly it may form the principal dish for a luncheon or supper. The simplest form is to slice a quarter of an inch thick six cold boiled potatoes with one small onion chopped, cover with French dressing. If with this you mix a head of celery cut in dice you have an agreeable change. Hard boiled eggs sliced are a pretty and pleasant addition. So are sliced tomatoes, cold boiled beets cut in dice and minced parsley. In fact, you may add anything in the vegetable and salad line, cooked or uncooked, and you will not go amiss. Sometimes you may garnish the dish with tender lettuce leaves and put two or three spoonfuls of fried dice of salt pork over the top. Shredded herring, sardines or anchovies are a nice ingredient in a potato salad.

Cold boiled soup beans in a bed of lettuce make a hearty and healthful salad. Sprinkle with minced parsley.

An excellent Friday dish is made from one pound of cold boiled salmon or a pint can of the same. Form a salad composed of two parts fish, two parts cold boiled potatoes and one of other salad ingredients; a little chopped cress, sliced onion, sliced raw tomatoes, dice of cooked beets, etc. Sprinkle with minced parsley and cover, when you are ready to serve, with a double quantity of French dressing.

UNEARNED INCREMENT.

THE BRAVEST BATTLE THAT EVER WAS FOUGHT.

Joaquin Miller, in Toronto Truth.

The bravest battle that ever was fought,
Shall I tell you where and when?
On the maps of the world you will find it not,
'Twas fought by the mothers of men.

Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,
With sword or nobler pen;
Nay, not with eloquent word or thought,
From mouths of wonderful men.

But deep in a walled-up woman's heart,
A woman that would not yield,
But bravely, silently bore her part
Lo! there is that battlefield!

No marshaling troop, no bivouac song,
No banner to gleam and wave;
But, Oh! these battles last so long,
From babyhood to the grave.

Yet, faithful as a bridge of stars,
She fights in her walled-up town;
Fights on and on in the endless wars,
Then silent, unseen, goes down.

O ye with banners and battle shot,
And soldiers to shout and praise,
I tell you the kingliest victories fought
Are fought in these silent ways.

Oh spotless woman in a world of shame!
With splendid and silent scorn,
Go back to God as white as you came,
The kingliest warrior born.

PARAGRAPHS.

Roger Q. Smith: "What good is this big tariff tax on ivory thimble-cases going to do? McKinley Jones: Good? Just you wait. I've got a truck farm in the suburbs that will blossom like the rose with thimble-case factories, just as quick as I can import the ivory and the Turks to make 'em.—Puck.

Father: "That cat made an awful noise in the back garden last night." Arnold: Yes father; I think that since he ate the canary he thinks he can sing—Tit-Bits.

Concentrated Wisdom: "Who is it that posseses all knowledge?" asked the Sunday school teacher, "My brother James," replied a diminutive pupil. "He's just home from college"—Brooklyn Life.

What sings the stream?—Ask him whose heart is sore.
"Woe," he will answer, "is the song thereof;"
Ask him whose heart with joy is brimming o'er,
And he will tell thee "love."
—Clinton Scollard, in Lippincott's.

A Washington man has a bright youngster who succeeded recently in getting even with his father in a very telling though unconscious manner. His father was reproving the little fellow's table manners. "Don't do that," said he, "or we'll have to call you a little pig." The warning seemed to be lost, for the fault was repeated. "Do you know what a pig is?" was the inquiry, put in a solemn manner. "Yes, sir." "What is it?" "A pig is a hog's little boy." The lesson in etiquette was suspended.—Washington Star.

At a fashionable gathering, a gentleman made several attempts to start the conversation, but owing to the stupidity of those present he failed completely. After a painful pause he finally remarked: "Now let us be silent on some other subject."—Texas Siftings.

It is better to try to make your home heaven than to try to make heaven your home.—New York Herald.

SHELVES IN HIS BRAIN.

General Trumbull in American Journal of Politics.

Cobden had a capacious brain, and his brain had shelves in it. Many other men have capacious brains, but without shelves. They have plenty of knowledge in their heads, but it is all out of order, tossed and tumbled in heterogeneous mixture, like the contents of their own libraries. Cobden furnished his brain with good knowledge, drilled and disciplined; every fact in its proper group, and every group on its proper shelf. By systematic economy of that kind he always had at hand an abundant supply of instances, facts, lessons, comparisons and proofs. He was thus overwhelming in debate, especially in the House of Commons, where they care little for the pomp of declamation or the cadences of eloquence, except as these are emphasis to solid argument, and the vehicles of useful information.

COFFEE DRUNKENNESS.

Boston Bulletin.

I had often heard it remarked that there is no drunkenness in Brazil, but the statement is untrue; not perhaps so far as alcoholic drinks are concerned, but the whole country is perpetually in a state of semi-intoxication on coffee—men, women and children alike—and to babies in arms it is fed from a spoon. At all hours of day and night, in season and out, everybody literally guzzles it. The effect is plainly apparent in trembling hands, twitching eyelids, mummy-hued skins, and a chronic state of nervous excitability worse than that produced by whisky.

DESPAIRING OF PERFECTION.

Colonel T. W. Higginson in Critic.

It has been a desire of my life to issue a book which should be wholly free from typographical errors, but I shall probably die without accomplishing it. Nor is it much of a consolation to know that my old friend, the late Professor Longfellow, after having the proofs of his "Dante" read by at least three different persons, finally received the published book with delight at the breakfast table, and at once opened upon a very serious misprint.

CHINESE COOKERY.

Chicago Inter Ocean.

The Frenchman is not the only one who has his frogs' legs and snail soup, for the Celestial, too, revels in these dainties and many more stranger than these. Snakes and eels alike know the frying pan, and when skinned and dressed appear very much alike. Many varieties of non-poisonous snakes are used for food. Silk-worm grubs are regarded as a choice morsel and are stewed in lard and eaten as a relish, and a multitude of other insects are deemed edible.

It seems to be the general impression that dogs and cats form staple articles of diet. This is not true. They are eaten to a greater or less extent by the poorer classes only, and vary in popularity according to the district.

The famous bird's-nest soup is a very rare delicacy, and can be afforded only by the rich. It is served as a first course at grand dinners usually. The nests are built by a kind of swallow on high rocks by the seashore, and the material is secreted by glands inside the bird's bill. A native recipe for making the soup reads: Take as many nests as are necessary, clean and pick out the feathers and boil in sufficient water to make a thin jelly. Pour this over hard-boiled pigeons' eggs and float on top shreds of ham. Serve sweetened if desired.

CLUB NUISANCES.

New York Times.

Few men would venture into private society while suffering from any disorder which made them unpleasant company for their friends; but how seldom is a like consideration extended to their clubs! The throat which is cleared every half minute like a thunderburst with the same easy unconcern as if the sufferer were in church, the cough which suggests Aceldama, the cold which sneezes and snuffles with an irritating persistence, might surely with wisdom and advantage be allowed to run through their acute stage in domestic privacy. The matter is, of course, one which cannot be settled by rule and precept. It is purely a question of good taste and good feeling, on which every man must be a law to himself.

A DUEL WITH A GHOST.

E. Sparrow in the Evening Post.

THE SEQUEL.

[Concluded from last issue.]—About 7 o'clock next morning the door bell rang. Amelia ran to the door, and whom should she see but Joe.

"Why, Joe!" she exclaimed, "where have you been so long, and why did you ring?"

"Oh, I don't know," stammered Joe, in reply to the last question. "I thought you might take me for a stranger, I have been away so long."

"Why have you behaved so strangely?" asked his mother, coming into the hall. "And what made you put that skeleton into your bed? I have been very anxious."

"Well, mother," said Joe, "I have been kept away by a little business, and, as for the skeleton, I have just come to get that. I bought it, and then found it had been stolen. It is Max Von Bremen's skeleton. Probably the thief will never be seen again, but I have explained it all to old Von Bremen, and it is all right. I am going to take the bones to his house now."

"What a dreadful thing!" cried Amelia; and his mother said, "But why did you put it in the bed?"

"I thought it would be safer in a soft bed," said Joe.

"What business kept you away?" said his mother.

"Oh, I will tell you all about it soon, but I must take the bones away directly, or there may be trouble," answered Joe.

His haste obliged them to cease their questions, and Joe ran up stairs as quickly as he could.

Entering Joe's room the false Joe advanced towards the helpless skeleton, which lay in the bed as on the day before, and said, "Well, my friend, there is no use in doing things by halves. Five thousand has been offered for a skeleton that it would be pretty hard to find, but I guess you will do just as well. I am sorry to trouble you, but I cannot afford to let the money go."

Poor Joe heard, but could do nothing. The dreadful chill that ran down his spinal column made him feel that it would have been fortunate if he had lost that member also.

With other words, equally cruel, the merciless Chopston folded Joe into a convenient bundle, and started to leave the house.

"Come right back as soon as you can," said Joe's mother.

Amelia went to the door with him.

"Why, here comes Bentley," she said, as Bentley appeared coming towards the house.

"Where?" said the false Joe, and then, catching sight of him, he ran around to the back of the house, and jumping over the fence, started away across the fields.

"What is the matter with Joe?" said Amelia to Bentley as he came up.

"Ah, I have come to tell you the sad news," replied Bentley, "but do not fear the worst; he could tell you himself, but under the circumstances he preferred to get me to break it to you."

"It cannot be there is anything between you and Joe!" said Amelia, looking puzzled.

"Oh, no," said Bentley, also puzzled.

"Then what made him run away to avoid you just now?" said Amelia,

"Who ran away?" asked Bentley.

"Why, Joe," she answered: "when you were coming he was going out, and when he saw you he ran to the back of the house and jumped over the fence."

"What did he do that for?"

"I don't know," said Amelia; "I guess you can tell better than I can."

"What was he doing?" said Bentley, thinking of the false Joe, and fearing that some harm might be on foot.

"I do not think he wanted you to know from the way he acted," said Amelia, "but he was taking something to Von Bremen's, and you can go and meet him and ask him yourself if you wish; he said he would come back directly."

"What was he taking? Was it a skeleton?" said Bentley, whose mind had grasped an idea. Joe had told his friends of his inert condition during daylight, and Bentley conceived that the wicked Chopston might take advantage of this to steal his bones.

"Why, yes," Amelia answered, "you seem to know something about it. I hope you have nothing against him."

"Nothing at all," said Bentley. "He told me himself about the skeleton; but I will go and meet him now."

He said no more, but walked quickly away, with the intention of going directly to Von Bremen's, deferring for the present his interview with Joe's family.

Arriving at Von Bremen's, he saw the false Joe just making his exit from the front gate.

"Hollo there!" he called, thinking that, if he could, he would arrest his attention, though he half expected to see him run away.

The false Joe put his hands in his pockets, and slouched towards Bentley with an angry frown, such as had never been seen on Joe's features when governed by their rightful owner.

"What do you want?" he said.

"I want to know what you have done with Joe's bones," replied Bentley, restraining an impulse to take hold of him by the collar. He reflected that it would be unsatisfactory to thrash Joe's person for the sake of punishing Chopston.

"Von Bremen has got them, and I have got the reward," said the false Joe, boldly.

On his way there Bentley had been in agony trying to determine what to do. He knew that the true state of things would not be believed by any one, and his only course seemed to be the desperate one of accusing the false Joe before Von Bremen, and trying to make him confess that the bones were not the right ones. But there would be the difficulty of explaining how he knew whether they were the right ones or not; and it would appear strange for him to take such a stand against Joe, whom everybody knew to be a firm friend of his. Some undesirable complication seemed inevitable, and he was not sorry to gain time by a little parley.

He answered by saying, "But you have no right to the reward."

"That is none of your business," said the other gruffly.

"But I can make it my business," returned Bentley, with more warmth than judgment.

The false Joe laughed. "Ha," he said, "it would be a good deal easier for me to fix the fellow who dug up the bones than for you to do anything to me." With this half threat he turned on his heel and walked away.

Discouraged and sick at heart, Bentley did not try to follow his enemy. He sought Hugh, whose mental suffering was increased by the news of this latest turn in Joe's misfortunes, especially as he himself had advised the reward, and in so doing had raised his hand, though unwittingly, against his friend.

The two formed a resolution to rescue their friend by some means. The means seemed hard to find, but they decided to defer all attempts until evening, when Joe's returning activity might enable him to forward his own rescue.

Mr. Von Bremen had accepted the false Joe's story with little questioning, as Joe had the best of reputations in his own town; and the old gentleman congratulated himself that there was a young man of Joe's tastes at hand; otherwise the remains would not have been recovered so easily.

The skeleton had been duly unfolded and laid out in a coffin in the front parlor, where it was to remain until the next day. The room was darkened and locked, and there was nothing to interrupt the reflections of the unfortunate Joe.

He felt no apprehension about escaping from his present situation, believing that with the return of his animation he would be able to find his way out of Von Bremen's house. Accustomed to extraordinary happenings, he soon managed to drop into a sleep, and so remained till nightfall.

Awakening and finding his life returning, he slowly raised himself out of the coffin, and sat upon its edge.

"What's the use of prolonging this frightful existence?" he asked himself. "I will get back and let them bury me. Then I will soon die and my spirit will be free."

This ghastly train of thought gradually took another direction, however, as Joe began to think of his treatise. No, he must hold on till he had completed that. This was the decision he came to finally. Then the question came, how was he to get back to his room and his papers? What would his people think of the reappearance of the skeleton after Joe had carried it away, and no Joe to explain it?

At this moment he became aware of a presence in the room, and as if fearing the consequences of being found in his unexpected position, he drew up quickly and tumbled back into the coffin, which was not the quietest way of disposing of himself.

"I know all about you," said a voice.

Joe raised his head and looked out into the room, and there he saw Max von Bremen's ghost.

"Oh, you demon," he groaned. "Have you come to jest at me for being in your coffin? You need not, I do not intend to stay here." With that he got on his feet and started towards a window to unlock it.

"Stay, friend," said Max's ghost; "really I did not mean to help to get you into this dilemma. I had no idea of Chopston's intentions, and you must remember, if he stole your flesh, he also stole my bones."

This address arrested Joe, who turned and asked: "Did you not give him your bones?"

"No," said the ghost, "I only lent them to him for what I thought an honorable purpose, but he has kept them ever since."

"I don't see that that hurts you any," said Joe.

"Ah!" said the ghost, "it is the greatest possible insult to a ghost to use his bones without his permission."

"Well," said Joe shortly, for he felt no sympathy for the ghost, "I don't see why you should come to me about it."

"Say," cried the ghost, as he saw Joe going towards the window again, "I want you to help me, and I will help you."

"Help me! Help me how?"

"To get back your flesh," said Max's ghost, who saw that he must come to the point.

"Explain what you mean," said Joe.

"Yes, I will," said the ghost hurriedly. "I must have some more grave dust to thrown on Chopston. If you will dig it up for me we will attack him together; then we can both recover what we have lost."

Joe was at length persuaded that Max was his ally, and he agreed to his proposals.

"Come on," he said, "let us not delay a moment."

"Alas," replied the ghost, "I am obliged to haunt this house till midnight, but we will start as soon as it is twelve."

Joe was all impatience on hearing this, but on second thought he said, "Perhaps it is as well; now I shall have time to get some nourishment, and that will make me better able to handle the shovel."

After completing his agreement he opened the window, and stepped out on the piazza.

Hugh and Bentley, who at this moment entered the grounds surrounding Von Bremen's house, saw the pitiful remnant of their friend as he issued from the window, and they hastened towards him, and grasped his hands.

"My dear fellow, how are you?" they whispered in a breath.

"I think I shall soon be all right," he answered; "I have found out how to get out of this scrape."

"Tell us," they cried, delighted at his encouraging words.

Joe's friends offered to go and assist in digging the grave dust, which was to be extracted from Chopton's own grave, but this Joe declined, saying that it had been proved that it was unsafe for human beings to be entangled in affairs with ghosts. Himself he considered beyond the power of such dangers; but even if he might meet with injury still worse than what he had already suffered, the risk must be run.

The three went to Bentley's to await the hour of Joes appointment, and Joe walked up and down restlessly until the time arrived.

It is needless to accompany Joe on his expedition with his ghostly ally. From the account he gave his friends it appeared that the visit to the cemetery was successful. After securing the dust the two strange avengers were soon on their way to work justice upon an ill-doer whose parallel has never been heard of.

Max's ghost led the way directly to the old schoolhouse, which had been deserted for years and was falling into decay, and there they found the enemy.

The scene that followed was a heart-rending one, and lung-rending, and liver-rending, and muscle-rending, and so it continued until all of Joe's property was snatched from the crafty thief. Joe did not forget his colleague, who yet must recover his bones, but seizing the skeleton, which he could best hold, while Max seized the ghost, which he only could grasp, the two wrenched and pulled until the unhappy Chopston gave in, and, with a shriek, rushed from the scene of his undoing.

Max's ghost paused only to help Joe put himself together, and to request him to put his own bones into the coffin he had recently left; then he also disappeared.

Carefully and kindly Joe picked up the bones before him, and carried them to Von Bremen's front parlor; then he returned joyously to his anxious friends.

When Hugh and Bentley were sure that there was no ominous Chopston's ghost looming above Joe's person, they could not contain their joy at this happy conclusion to Joe's terrible adventure.

Immediately after these events Joe discovered that he possessed a bank account, finding in his pocket, among several other articles that he had never put there himself, a bank-book crediting him with $5,000. This he decided that he might lawfully keep, as he, who alone could return the right skeleton, had well earned the reward.

It should be added in conclusion that Joe's treatise excited more favorable comment than he could have anticipated, and he almost rejoiced in the strange experience which had enabled him to make such invaluable observations.—[The En

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SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. That it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalities now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

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SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

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The harm is done by alkali. Still more harm is done by not washing. So, bad soap is better than none.

What is bad soap? Imperfectly made; the fat and alkali not well balanced or not combined.

What is good soap?

Pear[illegible]

All sorts of stores [illegible]pecially druggists; all sorts of p[illegible]e it.

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